

DONALD CARGILL

COVENANTER

(1627?-1681)

A BACKGROUND STUDY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS FAMILY CONNECTIONS

AND OTHER FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Name of Candidate Robert B. Tweed

Address _____

Degree Doctor of Philosophy Date May 15, 1964

Title of Thesis "Donald Cargill, Covenanter (1627?-1681): a background study, with special reference to his family connections and other formative influences"

The substance of this study relating to the early years of the life of Donald Cargill, seventeenth century Covenanter, represents an attempt to trace the multifarious influences--family, school, university and general--that determined the course of his singular career as parish minister, field conventicler and martyr.

Several of these principal formative factors, hitherto obscure, have been brought to light by this investigation. First, it reveals that Cargill was fundamentally a product of the turbulent era into which he was born when "the battledore and shuttlecock vicissitudes of Presbyterian and Episcopal supremacy" were at their height. It reveals that those closest to him--his near relations and teachers alike--typified these hostile factions that were striving for the mastery in the conflict being waged in the nation at large where ranks were divided by politico-religious antipathies and opposing allegiances. It indicates an intimate and extended acquaintance on his part with Aberdeen during a period unique in its history--the time of "the troubles"--when it not only reflected more sharply than any other city the conflict of the hour but lent support to the very cause to which its long tradition and civic temperament had been warmly opposed. It discloses, furthermore, that he studied at St. Andrews in one of the most colourful and eventful decades of its post-Reformation history when the University was enjoying "a condition of prosperity...never before or afterwards exceeded" and when the burgh itself had risen to a new eminence on the national scene as touching the affairs of church and state. It also reveals the predominant Royalist and Erastian influence that was brought to bear upon him at St. Salvator's College and, conversely, the predominant Presbyterian and Covenanting influence that confronted him at St. Mary's. It shows the

Use other side if necessary.

University to have been, in fact, a veritable academic crucible where a student's traditional or newly formed religious and ecclesiastical attachments, his moral courage and fidelity to principle, were tried to the very core--a setting which, by its very nature, brought Cargill to the point of facing the two supreme, spiritual crises of his life. Finally, it points to Samuel Rutherford as the person who, apart from Cargill's own parents, exerted the most puissant theological and ecclesiastical influence in the moulding of his thought and churchmanship; and it characterises Cargill (to use the metaphor of McWard) as one of Rutherford's choice "Cedars" which were hewn from the "Lebanon" he created at St. Mary's for the building of the house of the Lord in the land.

In these factors, then, are to be found the principal background forces that gave both form and content to the ministry that began at the Glasgow Barony and ended so abruptly in the Grassmarket of Edinburgh.

DONALD CARGILL

COVENANTER

(1627?-1681)

A BACKGROUND STUDY

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS FAMILY CONNECTIONS
AND OTHER FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

by

Robert B. Tweed, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of

the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Edinburgh

1964



PREFACE

The substance of this study represents a radical departure from that which was originally intended. At the suggestion of Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt, it was proposed to devote prime consideration to the "thought and churchmanship" of Donald Cargill; but, as investigation proceeded, it became clear that a more valuable--and original--contribution could be made by concentrating exclusively on the formative influences that lay behind and gave direction to his 'singular ministry', and to which only the barest of reference has been made by his earliest--and subsequent--biographers.

Donald Cargill was not primarily a theologian or man of letters; he was a preacher and a churchman. It is thus with good reason that J.B. Salmond places him in the company of such other St. Andrews alumni as Montrose and Richard Cameron as having been pre-eminently a 'man of action'.¹ The times demanded men of action. The doctrinal basis of the Covenanted movement had been firmly laid by such men as Henderson, Rutherford and Gillespie and it remained for Cargill and his contemporaries to give practical expression to the principles thus established.

In large degree Cargill was a product of the turbulent era into which he was born--an age when "the battledore and shuttlecock vicissitudes of Presbyterian and Episcopal supremacy"² were at their peak. Those that were closest to

1. Veterum Laudes, Chapter IX.

2. John Kerr, Scottish Education, School and University, p.115.

him--his family and his teachers--represented the differing factions that strove for the mastery; both exhibited on a small scale the conflict in the nation at large where ranks were divided by politico-religious antipathies and opposing allegiances. Notwithstanding this, however, the endeavour to trace and isolate the precise home and environmental influences that made him the man he was is not a simple one, for the influences that shape and direct a life are indeed multifarious. Sometimes they are tangible, sometime intangible; they may produce actions or reactions; some are conspicuous and others are altogether undiscoverable. Sir James Donaldson has well said that

no influence can be exerted by one force alone in this world but only in combination with a number of other forces, some of which may remain entirely concealed from the human mind, or may present themselves in such a way as to¹ place them beyond the range of accurate comprehension.

In spite of such acknowledged difficulties in the tracing of influences, however, every effort has been made to identify those that confronted Cargill in his youth and to appraise as thoroughly as possible their formative character and impact upon him in the light of his later known outlook and position.

There can be little doubt that, outside the home, the individual who exerted the chief theological and ecclesiastical influence upon Donald Cargill in the moulding of his thought and churchmanship was Samuel Rutherford--this influence having

1. Votiva Tabella, p.5.

been brought to bear upon him during his schooldays in Aberdeen and during his university days in St. Andrews. Indeed it may be averred that what William Dunlop wrote of that eminent divine's influence upon William Guthrie could almost equally apply to Cargill himself. He wrote:

[Mr. Guthrie] not only happily improved in theological learning [at St. Mary's College] under Mr. Rutherford as professor of divinity, but the ministry of that good man, so justly celebrated for his affecting and lively preaching, and holy life, was, by the blessing of God, made the instrument, if not of his conversion, which his early piety gives us ground to believe was sooner affected, at least of great advances in a religious life, which was so endeared to his soul, that he resolved to devote himself to the immediate service of God in the office of the holy ministry.¹

The nature of this study has necessitated an especially heavy reliance upon footnote references and appendices whose content, while being vital to the subject treated, could not well be included in the body of the work, because of its detail and extent. The Bibliography, it should also be observed, consists only of the works that have been cited, not of all those consulted or those of more general relevance to the subject in point.

Acknowledgement is due, in closing, to those who have helped in this effort by the counsel and encouragement they have given the author:- to the Rev. Principal J.H.S. Burleigh, the Rev. A.C. Cheyne and the Rev. Professor T.F. Torrance as Supervisors of study, and to the Rev. Principal Emeritus Hugh Watt for intial consultation with regard to the subject

1. Select Biographies ed. W.K. Tweedie, p.35.

chosen.

Appreciation for assistance given must also be expressed to the following:- the late Mr. Henry Paton, Curator of Historical Records, Scottish Record Office, and to the present Curator, Mr. John Imrie; to Dr. Lamb and the Library Staff at New College; to Miss C.L.G. Baird and Mr. R.N. Smart, Senior Assistant Librarians, St. Andrews University, and to Dr. J.K. Cameron, Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History, St. Mary's College, St. Andrews; to the Staff of the National Library of Scotland; to the Rev. William Henney and the Kirk Session of Rattray Parish; to the late Dr. Featherston Cargill, Mr. David C. Cargill (Edinburgh), Mr. W.D. Cargill Thompson (Glasgow) and Mr. J.P. Cargill (Kansas, U.S.A.)--Cargill Family descendants; to Mr. Victor Eaves-Walton for technical assistance in drawing up the Chart of Donald Cargill's family (p. 65); and finally, to Miss E. Winifred Binning, Mr. and Mrs. Eaves-Walton and Miss Stella Larsson for help in proof-reading and typing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	i
1. FAMILY ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE	1
2. FAMILY INFLUENCES	29
3. ABERDEEN INFLUENCES	66
4. ST. ANDREWS INFLUENCES St. Salvator's College	115
5. ST. ANDREWS INFLUENCES St. Mary's College	146
6. ST. ANDREWS INFLUENCES University and Burgh	192
7. CULMINATION AND SETTLEMENT	212
APPENDICES	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	

KEY TO REFERENCES

ACL	Aberdeen Council Letters
AIC	Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes
APS	Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland
BC	Bamff Charters
BR	Bon Record
CACA	Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus
CBDI	Charters Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray
CIC	Calendar of the Laing Charters
DB	The Baronage of Scotland
DJL	The Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
DPD	The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld
ECRA-B	Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen [Scottish Burgh Records Society]
ECRA-S	Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen [Spalding Club]
EOD	Evidence Oral and Documentary (University of St. Andrews)
ERS	Exchequer Rolls of Scotland
FAMA	Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis
FGJC	Featherston Cargill MSS.
FES	Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ
GS	General Register of Sasines
ICSA	Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia
LES	Liber Ecclesie de Scon
LJRB	Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie
IRB	Life of Mr Robert Blair
ISR	Letters of Samuel Rutherford

MNSC Miscellany of the New Spalding Club

MPA Memorials of the Aldermen, Provosts, and Lord Provosts
of Aberdeen

MT Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland and in England

PC Private Correspondence

PS Perthshire Register of Sasines

RBCA Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus

RORB Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of
Scotland

RGS Register of the Great Seal of Scotland

RI Records of Invercauld

RPR Rattray Parish Register

RPS Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland

SBSH A Source Book of Scottish History (Dickinson and
Donaldson)

SMP Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of
St. Andrews and Cupar (1641-1698)

SMS Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife
(1611-1687)

SSC Six Saints of the Covenant

CHAPTER I

A. FAMILY ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE

- (I) Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray and Notary
- (II) John Cargill of Haltoun of Rattray
- (III) Laurence Cargill of Bonytoun of Rattray
 - (A) Writer and Notary
 - (B) Marriage
 - (C) Eldest Son and Family

A. FAMILY ANCESTRY AND PARENTAGE

The shroud of mystery surrounding the family and parentage of Donald Cargill has presented difficulties to historians since Patrick Walker took the initial step in relating certain aspects of his life and death.¹ For nearly two hundred years thereafter that shroud was destined to remain quite unpenetrated with an imposing array of biographers such as John Howie, Peter Walker, G.M. Bell, Jean Watson and even W.H. Carslaw² accepting without fresh investigation the brief account first contributed by the "Cameronian pedlar".³ That account contained a twofold affirmation: first, that Cargill was "past sixty years" at his death, and secondly, that he "was born in the north, and was eldest son of a singular godly gentleman, and heritor in the parish of Rattray, some miles from Dunkeld".⁴ Notwithstanding its brevity and dearth of detail, and despite

-
1. Vide Some Remarkable Passages in the Life and Death of... Mr. Daniel Cargill by Patrick Walker, ed. D. Hay Fleming, SSC. Although A Cloud of Witnesses first appeared in 1714, no mention is made of Cargill's parentage or date of birth. Similarly, these are omitted from Robert Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, the first volume of which appeared in 1720.
 2. Vide Biographia Scotiana by John Howie (an original edition published 21 July 1775, New College Library), p. 280; The Life and Prophecies of Mr. Donald Cargill by Peter Walker, p.3; The Scottish Martyr, or the Life of the Rev. Donald Cargill by G.M. Bell, pp.1,2; Life of Donald Cargill by Jean Watson, p.12; Life and Times of Donald Cargill (Heroes of the Covenant) by W.H. Carslaw, pp.10.11. Carslaw, inexplicably failed to incorporate into this edition (April 1902), the important research findings of D. Hay Fleming which were first published in April of the previous year, vide *infra* p.2,n.2.
 3. He is thus termed in Thomas M'Crie's Miscellaneous Writings, pp.254,5 (quoted in SSC, i.xxxvii).
 4. SSC, ii.3.

one assertion of questionable accuracy,¹ this statement has in recent years² proven itself of prime importance in opening the way to a more thorough investigation of his family background from the civil and ecclesiastical records contemporary to that period. Consequently it is now possible to reconstruct a fairly complete picture of the family ancestry and parentage of the man who was "to become the ubiquitous apostle of religious rebellion"³ in later years. It is fitting, on this account, to give first consideration to his grandfather of the same name.

I. Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray and Notary

The association of the Cargill family with the parish of Rattray in Perthshire can be traced back at least to the year 1574 when Donald's grandfather, Donald Cargill, Reader,⁴ was

-
1. Vide infra p. 22 with regard to his age at the time of his execution.
 2. SSC, ii.199-203.
 3. James King Hewison, The Covenanters, ii.157.
 4. The office of "Reader", provided for in the first Book of Discipline, was designed to be only "a temporary expedient to meet the exigencies of a country suddenly deprived of its ancient priesthood, and not yet supplied with Protestant preachers" (John Cunningham, The Church History of Scotland, i.283). These appointees "might in some measure assist in conducting public worship, and imparting religious instruction, until such time as a qualified minister should be provided" (David Laing, Wodrow Society Miscellany, i.323). The Book of Discipline prescribed that, "To the Churches where no Ministers can be had presentlie, must be appointed the most apt Men that distinctlie can read the common Praiers and the Scriptures, to exercise both themselves and the Church, till they grow to greater Perfection; and in Process of Time, he that is but a Reader may attain to a farther Degree, and by Consent of the Church and discreet Ministers, may be permitted to minister the Sacraments; but not before that he be able somewhat to perswade by wholesome Doctrine, beside his Reading, and be admitted to the Ministerie, as before is said" (iv.14, vide A Collection of Confessions of Faith, ii.532).

appointed to the vicarage in succession to the late Sir James Robesoun.¹ His warrant for presentation² runs as follows:

Our soverane Lord being informit etc. ordanis ane letter to be maid under the prevy seill in dew forme nominatand and p[re]sentand Donald Cargill redare to the vicarage of Ratra liand w[i]thin the schirefdome of perth and diocy of Dunkeld vaccand be deceis of umq[ui]le Sir James Robesoun Direct to the bishop of Dunkeld³ etc. at Halyrudehous the xxi day of Maij 1574.

This appointment entitled him not only to receive the vicarage

-
1. Listed in the Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis, 3 February 1541 (14.131), as one of the "balzeis of Dunkeld". Sometime previous to Robesoun's appointment, the office in the three parishes of "Kepeth, Rattray, Clwyne" had been served by a "John Rattray reidar" (Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers, and of their Stipends after the Period of the Reformation ed. Alexander Macdonald, p.19). With respect to the title "Sir", a comment of D. Hay Fleming is apropos: "In the old days, students who took the M.A. degree were entitled to write Mr before their names. Those priests who were destitute of that right, were usually distinguished by the title Dominus or Sir, hence in Reformation days they were sometimes sneeringly referred to as 'the Pope's Knights'." (Four Old Documents Concerning the Town Church of St. Andrews, p.6).
 2. Register of Presentations to Benefices, vol.1. While the first Book of Discipline (v.5, Op.Cit., p.537) stipulated "that the Reader be put in the Kirk by the Admission of the Superintendent", this appointment would have been authorised under the terms of the recently-approved Concordat of Leith whose articles were framed in February 1572. Under it "tulchan-Episcopacy" had been created (vide John Cunningham, Op.Cit., i, 341-3). The policy of the Regent Morton, who had been its "chief deviser" (Ibid., i.353), was to combine "three, four, or even a greater number of contiguous churches, to be placed under one Minister, with the assistance of a Reader to serve in each parish, who received for stipend the miserable pittance of L.20 Scottish money, or L.1, 13s. 4d. Sterling" (David Laing, Op.Cit., i.326). Vide infra p.¹⁰, n.1. The Register of Ministers and Readers for 1574 reveals "that there were 988 churches, arranged under 303 heads, with 289 Ministers, 715 Readers: with the places of 20 Ministers and 97 Readers not supplied, making in all 1121 persons" (Ibid.).
 3. "The tulchan bishop, James Paton, had been appointed to the see in 1571-2, and on 27 April 1573, had, as 'elect,' taken

teinds¹ as his usual stipend but also to be styled thenceforth 'Vicar of Rattray,'² as life-renter of the Vicarage.³

the oath of the king's supremacy before the Privy Council." He replaced Robert Crichton "who dissented from the Confession in the Parliament that convened 1 Aug. 1560" (The Bishops of Scotland by John Dowden, p.93).

1. The stipend prescribed in the first Book of Discipline for a newly-appointed reader was "Fourty Merkes, or more or lesse, as Parishioners and Readers can agree, is sufficient: Provided that he teach the Children of the Parish, which he must doe, beside the reading of the common Prayers [foot-note, That is, the Prayers which were printed with the Psalm Book], and Bookes of the Old and New Testament. If from reading he begin to exhort and explain the Scriptures, then ought his Stipend to be augmented, till finally he come to the Honour of a Minister: But if he be found unable after Two Yeres, then must he be removed from that Office, and discharged of all Stipend, that another may be proved as long. . . Readers, who have long continued in the Course of Godliness, and have some Gift of Exhortation, who are of hope to attain to the Degree of a Minister, and who teach the Children; we think an hundred Merkes, or more or less at the Discretion of the Kirk, may be appointed" (Op.Cit., pp.536,7). For some inexplicable reason, not only does Donald Cargill's name appear as 'David' in the ms.Register of Assignation and Modification of Stipends for the years 1574 and 1576, but the monetary value of his stipend was not recorded. The entry runs as follows: "David Cargill reidare at Rattray his stipend the haill vicarage of Rattray newlie provydit to him extending to ____". In the 1578 Register, and those subsequent, he is termed 'Donald Cargill', though the monetary value of his stipend continues unrecorded.
2. Vide infra p.11ff.
3. "The Blairgowrie Advertiser of 29 Dec. 1894 prints Sylvester Rattray's acceptance of a manse and glebe for the parish of Rattray, dated 18 April 1611. From this acceptance it appears that the Vicar's Croft, measuring 2 acres and 1 rood, was to be included in the said glebe; but the life-rent of the Vicar's Croft is reserved in favour of 'D.C., reader' at the said Kirk of Rattray" (ms. Notes on Donald Cargill by D. Hay Fleming, p.64). As 'Vicar of Rattray' he continued to receive the vicarage teinds until his death in 1623 irrespective of the General Assembly's decision in July 1580 that "because Readers hes no ordinarie office within the Kirk of God,...no simple Reader sall be capable of any benefice, or bruik or possess the same in tyme cuming, nor yet bruik or joy the manss or glieb, where there is any minister actuallie serving" (The Booke of the Universall

It may safely be concluded from the date of his appointment that he would likely have been born about the year 1550 since the first Book of Discipline prescribed that "no Child, nor Person within Age, that is, within Twentie one Yeares of Age, should be admitted to the Office of a Reader".¹

In view of the location of the Vicar's home and judging from his own marriage and social position in Rattray as well as from the marriages of his sons and daughters among certain of the principal families of Perthshire, it is probable that he was descended from the Cargills of Lasington (parish of Cargill), afterwards of Kinloch.² This Cargill family was of ancient origin dating back at least to Peter de Kergill in the thirteenth century who appears to have been the first to assume the surname 'Cargill' from the lands of that name. By the seventeenth century collateral descendants of the

Kirk of Scotland, ed. Alexander Peterkin, p.197). While the office of 'Reader' was not literally abolished by the General Assembly of 1581--the only action taken being "that in no tymes comeing any Reader [should] be admittit to the office of Reader, be any haveing power within the Kirk", Ibid, p.219)--those "not then advanced to the ministry were allowed still to officiate, or at least to draw the amount of stipend which had previously been assigned to them", (David Laing, Op.Cit., p.324 and James King Hewison, Op.Cit., i.45),--the problem created by vicarages held in life-rent was brought to the attention of the General Assembly of 1582 in a letter presented by James VI which, inter alia, requested "That ye latt us wnderstand what ye haue thought meit and concludit, anent the Readers in generall, and speciallie Readers that are presentit to viccarages for their lyfetymes" (Alexander Peterkin, Op.Cit., p.237). No answer to this problem was given by the Assembly then or later.

1. v.5, Op.Cit., p.537. This would make him somewhat over seventy years of age at the time of his death in 1623 (vide infra p. 8 , n.1).
2. Vide Appendix A.

original stock were scattered throughout most of Scotland and were particularly numerous in the neighbouring parishes of Perthshire and in the shires of Forfar, Angus, Aberdeen, Midlothian and Ayr.¹ Even within the village of Rattray there were Cargill families not immediately related to that of the Vicar.²

In 1583 Donald Cargill attained to added distinction by qualifying for the office of notary public. The warrant³ for his examination for this office runs as follows:

Chancellor President and Lordis of Session: we great yew weill Forsamekle as it is clerlie understand to us that our lovite Donald Cargill reidar at rattray is sne persone hable qualefeit learnit and idoneus to use and exerce the office of notarie q[ui]lk is verye necessar and profitable for sserv[ing] of the leigeis of our realme and we hawing respect yairto haf thoct expedient that he suild be admitted to the office yairoff whairfor it is our will and we desyr and charge yow that efter dew examination tane be yow of the literature and qualificatioun of the said Donald and he beand fund hable to use and exerce the said office of notarie that ye ressave and admit him yairto and authorise

-
1. PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 15 October 1945.
 2. E.g., RPR entries refer to a "Thomas Cargill, cottar, in Chappelthouse, and Janet Steill his spouse" (15 April 1610) and to a "Walter Cargill in Lincomes and Bessie Moreson his spouse" (22 March 1618), vide SSC, ii.199.
 3. Register of the Admission of Notaries, Warrants. "In his notarial docquets, he is designated clerk of St. Andrews diocese (vide e.g., CIC, nos.1251-2). Donald Cargill's two sons, John and Laurence, are styled "clerk of diocese of Dunkeld" in their notarial docquets (vide, e.g., CIC, nos. 1752 and 2132).

him with your testimoniall yairupoun With power to him to use the samyn for all the dayis of his lyfe siclik and als frelie as ony vther notar within our realme conforme to our actis of parliament maid yairanent Subscryvit with our hand and gewin vnder our Signet at Halyrudhouse the twentie day of Aprill the yeir of God j^mv^c fourscore three and of our regne the sexteine yeir.

James R.

Following this is a petition from Donald Cargill to the Lords of Council to be examined by them conformably to the royal warrant:

My Lords of counsill unto your Lordships humblie meanis and shawis your servitor Donald Cargill reidar at rattray that quhair our sovrane Lord being informit that I am ane persone abill qualifiet and idoneus to use and exerce the office of notarie for serving of the lieges of his heines realme Thairfor his ma[jes]tie be his l[ett]res direct to you my Lord Chancellor and Presidend and lords of session hes willit you to try and examin my qualification and I being found abill and qualifiet be you that ye will admit me to the said office and authorize me with your testimonial y^rupoun als the said writting and supplication direct to your Lordships here present to schaw beiris herefoir I beseil your lordships to veskie and consider the said applicatioun and conforme thereto try and examin my qualification and I being fund abill and qualifiet be your Lordships that ye will admit me to the said office of notarie causs Robert Scott tak caution of me mark my prothogall buik and authorize me with your testimonial y^rupoun conforme to the said supplicatioun and your Lordships daylie use and practik usit in sik cassis according to justice and your Lordships answer humlie I beseik.

J. [or T.] Young.

On the back is the following certificate:

Apud Edinburgh 28 April 1583.--Quhilk day ye Lordis examin-atoris findis the complenar within qualifeit and worthie to be admitted notar and thairfoir ordains Robert Scott to mark his buik, and ressaive his ayth of fedilitie and caution conform to the act of parliament.

From the time of his admission to this office until his death

about 1623¹ he exercised the dual office of Reader and Notary Public at Rattray, notwithstanding the fact that in 1591 Mr. Silvester Rattray² of Nether Persie was admitted to the parsonage as the parish minister with Blairgowrie also in his charge.³

During an approximate forty-year term of service as notary in Rattray, Donald Cargill appears to have prospered materially judging both from the large and continuous volume

-
1. Vide FES, viii.353 where it is stated that he died between 21 May 1622 (BC, no.179) and 5 June 1624 (GS, 29 June 1624, I.15,251). He probably died before 20 November 1623 because on that date his younger son is referred to as "Laurence Cargill in Kirkcoun of Rattray" (*Ibid.*), and so continues to be styled thereafter; whereas previously his relationship to his father is always designated as "Laurence Cargill, son lawful to Donald Cargill" (vide, e.g., PS, 20 May 1619, I.2.309).
 2. He was a lineal descendant of the ancient Rattray family of Craighall "the ruins of whose fortified mansion may still be traced on the summit of a rising ground...southeast of the village of Rattray. This mound still goes by the name of Castle-hill...also called the 'Hill of Rattray'" (Strathmore: Past and Present by J.G. M'Pherson, pp.59,60. Vide also A Handbook to Blairgowrie, Rattray, and Neighbourhood [by W.P. Ireland] pp.119-125 and Dryerre's Guide to Blairgowrie, Rattray and district, pp.20,84). Sylvester Rattray was twice married: first, to Grizel Robertson, daughter of Baron John Reid of Straloch and, second, to Marie Stuart, daughter of George Stuart of Gardneys and Dalguise (vide Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Fourth Series, vol.7, p.239). He died 30 January 1623 at the age of 67 years (*Ibid.*, p.240). It is to be noted that his death occurred about the same time as that of the Vicar of Rattray, Donald Cargill.
 3. Vide FES, iv.170. Prior to his admission, Thomas Cruikshank (sic), minister of Lundieff, had Rattray in his charge including certain other parishes (*Ibid.*, p.167) and thus had disposition of the Rattray parsonage benefice (vide Register of Assignment and Modification of Stipends for 1574 ff).

of business which the public records show to have been transacted through his office and from his gradual acquisition of landed property. In 1603 he was infeft in the "east half of the lands and town of Eister Drimmie and the pendicle thereof called Hedderie Hauche, lying in the regality of Coupar, parish of Rattray, and sheriffdome of Perth".¹ On this same occasion his wife, Margaret Blair,² was infeft in life-rent in these lands by virtue of his disposition. Three years later³ he came

1. PS, 11 July 1603, Vol.2.269-271.

2. "It seems not improbable that Margaret Blair was the daughter of Andrew Blair of Ardblair by his wife Margaret Butter, daughter of Patrick Butter of Gormack, because when her son John Cargill of Haltoun's eldest son, Donald, was baptised in 1616, the witnesses to the baptism were 'Patrick Butter of Gormack and John Butter vicar of Gormack his son and Donald Cargill vicar of Rattray'" (FCJC, 213,7). Vide Genealogical Chart p.65 and also SSC, ii.199. Robert Douglas, in his The Baronage of Scotland, i.191, refers to this Andrew Blair as having, "in the reign of queen Mary, married Margaret, daughter of Patrick Butter of Gormack, by whom he had a son and heir, Patrick Blair of Ardblair". For further reference to the Vicar's wife, vide Appendix B.

3. PS, 4 November 1606, Vol.5,225-7. On 20 October 1606, Sir Robert Crichton of Cluny, heritable proprietor of the barony of Rattray, granted a charter of feu-farm to Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray, of the following lands: "all and haill that shaddow eight part of the town and lands of Kirk-toun of Rattray then occupied by the said Donald Cargill and his subtenants, with the pertinents thereof, especially an eight part of that pendicle called the Dolleis, and of the wood and woodlands, belonging to the said lands of Kirk-toun, with privilege of pasturage in, and loaning to and from, that part of the barony of Rattray called the Braid-moss; and likewise all and haill the Kirklands of Rattray... [cited supra]...together with pasturage for two cows with their followers, two horses and twenty old sheep in the commonty of the said Kirk-toun; lying in the parish of Rattray and Sherrifdome of Perth. In which lands, the said Donald Cargill was afterwards infeft" (vide FCJC, 213.5,6 and 216.6,7). For the location of these lands, vide W.P. Ireland, Op.Cit.

into possession of the shaddow eight part of the Kirktown of Rattray, part of the Dolleis, most of the Kirklands¹

With the teind sheaves and other teinds thereof, both parsonage and vicarage (except that manse, yard and four acres of the said Kirklands last designed and pertaining to Mr. Silvester Rattray, minister of the Kirk of Rattray, and his successors),

and was given the right of pasturage in the Braidmoss² and

-
1. "How, or if the 'Kirklands' became alienated from itself we know not [for] it would be difficult to show that on it ever stood a 'Kirk,' since the present is the third on the same site [built in 1820], and the last church served well some centuries; and, when taken down, contained relics of its predecessor, and which also had relics of its predecessor" (Ibid., pp.88,9). "The value of kirk-lands cannot always be ascertained: but in the case of Readers, it appears to have averaged L.4; as their stipend usually was L.16 with the kirkland, or L.20 without. . . Such an allowance gave good reason to the clergy to complain of inadequate remuneration" (David Laing, Op.Cit., p.328). It is interesting to note in this connection that, on 8 July 1618, "Master Silvester Rattray, succentor of the Cathedral Church of Dunkeld, rector and minister of the Parish Kirk of Rattray, granted a charter to Margaret Blair in life-rent, and to John Cargill, portioner of Haltoun of Rattray, his heirs and assignees, irredeemably, of the Kirklands of Rattray, then occupied by Donald Cargill, vicar of Rattray, father of the said John, and his subtenants; in which they were infeft on 26 April 1619" (PS, 10 May 1619, I.2.295). "The meaning of this is that Donald Cargill had resigned the Kirklands into the hands of the succentor of Dunkeld Cathedral in order to obtain a new charter of them in favour of his wife and eldest son. It is not quite clear why it was necessary to have two feu-charters of the Kirklands, one from the superior of the barony of Rattray, and another from the succentor of Dunkeld. Before the Reformation the Kirk of Rattray, including the Kirklands, had been the prebend of the succentor, or subchanter, of Dunkeld Cathedral. But at this period the Kirklands had probably become incorporated in the barony of Rattray" (FCJC, 213.6,7).
 2. "There is a commony in the higher part of the parish, of nearly 300 acres, called the Broad Moss, which is become almost a waste, for want of being divided. The only use made of it is in individuals at pleasure casting turf for fuel, and the neighbouring tenants sending their cattle to brouse on it. Though called a moss, it is more properly a muir, being a high-lying barren subject, but under proper management, might have become a plantation of some Value". (The New Statistical Account of Scotland, x.244).

commonalty of Kirkcubright--all of which, many years afterwards, were to become the property of his grandson, the Covenanter.¹ At the time of the Vicar's death, however, these lands (except for a portion of Kirkcubright)² were inherited by his elder son, John.³

Donald Cargill's marked success in the notarial profession, coupled with long service as Vicar of Rattray, in itself renders it probable that, in due time, he was called upon to perform yet another service for his parish. The first volume of the Rattray Parish Register, which commences 1 June 1606 and ends 30 December 1621 and which is still in a good state

-
1. PS, 1 August and 18 December 1665 (referred to in SSC, ii.200).
 2. John's younger brother, Laurence, received at least a portion and probably half of the lands of Kirkcubright of Rattray when his father died because, some years later, when John's eldest son, Donald (of Haltoun) was infeft in these lands, it is stated that they were "sometime" occupied "by the said deceased John and Laurence Cargill, his brother, and their subtenants" (PS, 31 May 1637, II.8.311). "From this it seems probable that Laurence Cargill had been infeft by his father in half of his eight part lands of Kirkcubright under reversion of a certain sum payable by his elder brother John and that the latter had paid him this sum at the time he bought Nether Cloquhat" (FCJC, 213.49). Vide *infra* p.16, n.4.
 3. GS, 29 June 1624, I.15.251. He inherited the wadset of the east half of Easter Drimmie, the feu of the Kirklands of Rattray, and his eight part of the lands of Kirkcubright of Rattray. On 10 February 1631 George Turnbull sold to John Cargill of Haltoun of Rattray and Jean Gray his spouse, in conjunct fee and life-rent, and the heirs begotten betwixt them, irredeemably, the lands of Easter Drimmie, then occupied by the said George Turnbull and John Cargill and their subtenants, lying in the regality of Coupar [parish of Rattray], and sheriffdom of Perth, in which they were infeft on 27 October 1631 (PS, II.5.214). Concerning a further transaction of John Cargill, vide GS, 20 December 1627, I.22.344.

of preservation, seems almost certainly to have been kept by him or under his immediate supervision.¹ An investigation of its contents bears this out in several respects. First of all, throughout the Register Donald Cargill is designated 'Vicar of Rattray', and is so styled in all other documents in which he is not acting in his official capacity as notary.² Again, he is a frequent witness to baptisms and marriages and from time to time he is reported as giving in collections for the poor-box.³ And furthermore, at the end of the volume there is the following docquet on a page otherwise blank: "Donaldus Cargill Lector ecclie Rattray in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum". These considerations leave little room for doubt that the Vicar was himself responsible for this Register of the Rattray Kirk Session and, in addition, both account for and enhance the reliability of the proportionally large number of entries pertaining to him and to the members of his family.

II. John Cargill of Haltoun of Rattray

Although in this present work greater importance attaches to Donald Cargill's younger son, Laurence, proper mention should be made at this point of John, the eldest of four⁴

-
1. Vide FCJC, 213.4 and PC, F. Cargill to author, 15 December 1951.
 2. An allusion to his being life-renter of the vicarage. Vide supra.
 3. Vide, e.g., SSC, ii.199 (baptism) and RPR, 28 August 1620 (marriage), 15 April 1610 (poor box).
 4. Vide FES, viii.353. Their names were John, Janet, Grissel and Laurence. Janet married the first John Blair of Pittendreich (vide infra p.41) and Grissel married George Drummond of Kirkton of Rattray (vide infra p.45).

children and successor to his father's estate. He appears to have commenced his career by serving as a clerk in the office of his father.¹ By at least July of the year 1608 he had qualified as a notary public.² This would imply that, according to the laws of admission then in force, he was not less than twenty-five years of age when he acceded to this office,³ and therefore that he was probably born about 1580 or shortly thereafter. On 18 April 1613 he was admitted to eldership in the Rattray Parish Kirk.⁴ The year following, on 27 March 1614, he became 'portioner' of the Estate of Haltoun⁵ of Rattray--preparatory, it would appear, to his marriage three months

-
1. Vide, e.g., A PS dated 14 December 1601 (I.1.63) which was written by John and authenticated by his father.
 2. Vide BC, no.135. No record of his admission survives but he may have qualified to the office as early as 1605 or 1606, as he could have completed his required five-year apprenticeship by that time (vide An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of Scots Law, p.292).
 3. FCJC, 213.8 and vide The Law of Scotland Relating to Notaries Public by John C. Murray, p.15.
 4. An entry in the RPR on that date runs as follows: "Eodem die Johne Cargill sone to Donald Cargill vicar of Rattray was admittit ane elder".
 5. In the RPR, 27 March 1614, he is styled "por. of Haltoune of Rattray". The English equivalent is 'Halltown'; the Scottish colloquial form, 'Ha'toun'; the present form 'Hatton' (vide PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945). On 13 January 1625 John Cargill completed the purchase of Haltoun when he obtained a charter of feu-farm from Dr. Patrick Hay of Rattray. It included the "pertinents thereof" and privilege of pasturage in the Braidmoss of the barony of Rattray. The following background account of this estate is derived principally from additional details supplied by the sasine cited: "The third part of Haltoun lying in the Barony of Kinballoch, and the two-third part lying in the barony of Rattray date from the time when both baronies were in the possession of Rattray of that ilk, that is before the time when the barony of Rattray passed, through marriage with a Rattray heiress after Flodden, into the possession of the Earls of Atholl,

later to Jean Gray, daughter of Andrew Gray of Ballegarno.¹ The official records thereafter style him "of Haltoun of Rattray"--the designation subsequently inherited by his eldest son, Donald,² and still later assumed by the Donald of Covenanter fame when he purchased this estate from his cousin in 1665.³ One cannot but note at this point that the existence of three prominent Rattray personages similarly styled (though at different periods) and belonging to the same family, coupled with the fact that two of them possessed the same name, leaves

and the barony of Kinballoch, into the possession of the male representatives of the house of Rattray. John, Earl of Atholl, Lord Balvany, last of his line, died at Perth in 1595, and was succeeded in the earldom by a distant kinsman. In 1604, Sir Robert Crichton of Cluny acquired the barony of Rattray from James, Earl of Atholl, Lord Tunermeath (PS, 1 December 1604), whose aunt he had married; and, about 1606, he acquired the third part of Haltoun from Silvester Rattray of Craighall and Kinballoch (*Ibid.*, 22 April 1607). About 1610, the barony of Rattray passed into the possession of Peter Hay of Kirkland of Megginch, whose youngest son, Dr. Patrick Hay, a physician, succeeded to it about 1618 (*Ibid.*, I.1.206 and 2:218). Dr. Patrick Hay's aunt, Janet Hay, was the wife of Andrew Gray of Ballegarno, and so John Cargill of Haltoun's mother-in-law" (FCJC, 213.10, 11). The infetment of John Cargill in these lands took place on 13 February 1625 (GS, 28 March 1625, I.17.160-2).

1. The marriage banns were proclaimed 26 June 1614: "Upon a ticket direct from the Session of Rossie the bondis of Johnne Cargill son and air appearand to Donald Cargill vicar of Rattray in the parish of Rattray on the one part and Jean Gray dau. to Andro Gray of Ballegarno in the parish of Rossie on the other part" (RPR). The Register contains no notice of their marriage as it probably took place at the Gray's home in Ballegarno. "The Grays had possessed this property since 1475, the Gray who bought it being a half-brother of Andrew, first Lord Gray" (FCJC, 213.8).
2. Donald was born 18 June 1616 and baptised on 23 June (RPR, quoted in SSC, ii.199), and first styled "of Haltoun" as witness to a sasine on 27 May 1634 (PS, 3 July 1634). For the names of his brothers and sisters, vide *infra* p.38,n.3.
3. Vide SSC, ii.200.

little room for wonder at the confusion engendered among later historians as to the parentage and background of the Covenanter whom they have most commonly (but mistakenly) represented as the "son of a laird of Hatton".¹ John, who was the first Cargill of Haltoun, however, continued to serve in his notarial capacity at Rattray until his death in about 1632,² at which time his brother, Laurence, succeeded to his profession.

III. Laurence Cargill of Bonytoun of Rattray

(A) Writer and Notary

Laurence Cargill's date of birth cannot now be determined due to an absence of record evidence about the time it would have occurred.³ Judging, however, by the fact that his first appearance in the records is as witness to a charter toward the close of 1617⁴ and that he witnessed, perhaps for the first time, a baptism early in 1618,⁵ one may reasonably infer that he would have been born about the turn of the century. This

1. Vide Appendix B.

2. His last appearance in the records is as witness to a sasine on 15 November 1631 (PS, II.5.395). He was dead 13 May 1634 (PS, 1 August 1635, II.7.373-5), having died probably before 2 March 1633 at which time his younger brother, Laurence, appears as notary--the one event in all probability following the other (vide PS, II.6.226). As in the case of John, no record survives of Laurence's admission to the office of notary public.

3. The first volume of the RPR covers only the years between 1606 and 1621 after which there is a gap until 1656.

4. At Pittendreich on 8 November, his brother-in-law, John Blair, notary (PS, I.1.138-40).

5. RPR, 22 March.

would make him some eighteen or twenty years the junior of his brother, John.¹ As a young man he was employed as a writer² in his father's office and, following the Vicar's death in 1623, served as an occasional writer of his brother's notarial deeds. During these earlier years of his life he was also a frequent witness to charters and sasines as well as to baptisms.³ "There is a continuous yearly record of his living in Kirkton of Rattray from March 1618 to May 1626...but no evidence that he qualified as a notary public during this period."⁴ The precise date of his admission to this office is now obscure, but the public records indicate that it was sometime prior to March 1633,⁵ from which time he continued to exercise the profession of notary until the end of his life.

Laurence's death occurred toward the end of the year 1657,⁶ but not before he had witnessed the enlistment of his eldest son as a minister in the ranks of his nation's Covenanted Cause. That son was Donald Cargill, the subject of this work.

1. Vide supra p.12.

2. E.g., a renunciation dated 20 May 1619 is written by "Laurence Cargill son lawful to Donald Cargill notary public" (PS, I.2.309).

3. Vide, e.g., PS, 22 December 1618 (I.2.175), CIC, no.1981 and RPR from 1618-21.

4. FCJC, 213.47-8. Doubtless half the lands of Kirkton were his by right of inheritance (vide supra p.11).

5. Vide supra p.15, n.2.

6. He was alive on 16 October 1657 (vide Unextracted Processes, Dalrymple, Carmichael and Elliott: Cargill v. Kinghorne, 17 February 1658) and was dead 16 December 1657 (PS, 15 April 1658).

Donald¹ Cargill, as an eldest son, was probably named, like his cousin, after his paternal grandfather, the Vicar of Rattray. His mother was Marjorie Blair, undoubtedly the daughter of Patrick Blair of Ardblair and Isabel Ramsay, his first wife.² No extant record evidence remains to indicate when the marriage of Laurence Cargill and Marjory Blair took place but it is possible, on the basis of certain other recorded facts, to establish with reasonable accuracy the year when it occurred. (The importance of determining this is to be seen in its bearing on the equally perplexing problem concerning the date of Donald's birth.)

The late D. Hay Fleming, in a note appended to his Six Saints of the Covenant, has made the following observation:³

According to the first edition of The Scots Worthies (1775, p.380), 'Mr. Cargill seems to have been born sometime about the year 1619.' In all likelihood John Howie arrived at this date through Patrick Walker's statement that Cargill was 'past sixty' at his martyrdom in 1681. In the second edition of The Scots Worthies (1781, p.419) Howie repeats his indefinite statement about the date of Cargill's birth, with the single variation that 1610 is substituted for 1619. This difference may be the result of a misprint, or of a broken type; but it has found its way into subsequent editions, with the result that some writers have accepted 1610 and others 1619 as the approximate year of the martyr's birth.

It is of course apparent that these dates, so manifestly vague and otherwise unconfirmed, have been generally accepted by subsequent historians due to the fact that no more new or

1. Vide Appendix C.

2. Laurence thus married his first cousin, Marjory being the daughter of his mother's brother, Patrick Blair of Ardblair (vide supra p.9, Genealogical Chart p.65, and Appendix B).

3. SSC, ii.199.

more specific information had since been brought to light. This, however, is no longer the case. Continued search and collocation of contemporary parish and sasine records, so ably initiated by D. Hay Fleming, has disclosed evidence to suggest that Donald Cargill was not as advanced in years at the time of "his bloody death" as Patrick was led to believe.

It should, however, be stated, even before dealing with the official records mentioned, that Patrick Walker's implied date of Cargill's birth is subject to serious question on closer scrutiny of the evidence he himself employed. It is quite within the realm of possibility that he was not altogether accurately informed in the matter, for it was not until the year 1722 that he began to amass material on the lives of certain of the Covenanters and ten more years had passed before his work on Cargill issued from the press.¹ During that intervening period of just over fifty years since Cargill's execution, some details of his life, even though in all likelihood derived from the martyr's nephews and nieces then living,² might easily have become distorted due to faulty recollections or inaccurate transmission.³ It is quite true that Patrick

1. *Ibid.*, i.xxvii.

2. E.g., Jean Cargill (youngest daughter of the Covenanter's brother, James) probably moved to Glasgow with her father sometime in 1682 following Donald's execution. Later she became a shop-keeper in Edinburgh and married a Patrick Cargill in 1723. Thomas Whitson (Donald's first cousin once removed and with whom he was intimately associated during the years of persecution) continued after the Settlement as an elder in the Rattray Kirk Session until his death in 1717.

3. E.g., the perfectly accurate statement of Robert Hamilton, *Op.Cit.*, p.502, that Donald Cargill "perfected his philosophy

Walker, as a lad of fourteen or fifteen years of age,¹ frequented Cargill's field conventicles for a few months prior to his final capture and describes him as then "being old and weary",² "but this might have been premature old age brought on by mental anxiety, hardship, and bodily infirmity".³

Furthermore, it would be only natural that Patrick Walker should have got a rather exaggerated impression of Cargill's age for, having seen him only when a boy in his early teens, the persecuted minister would have seemed older than he really was.

course at the university of St. Andrews" was altered by Patrick Walker to "after he had passed his courses of learning in Aberdeen, he was established in the Barony" (SSC, ii.3).

1. "In 1684 he is described as 'a boy of eighteine years of age,' and as son 'to umquhill Patrick Walker in Clugh.' The statement as to his age may be accepted as approximately correct, and his birth may therefore be placed in 1666, the year of the Pentland Rising. . . His parents probably favoured the good old way, for he says: 'I have had the happiness to be a hearer of the Gospel from my infancy in fields and houses.' One of his sentences seems to imply that he was present at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge." (SSC, i.xx; but vide also ii.192-3, nn.3 and 5, and i.335).
2. There would appear to be an inherent contradiction in his statement that: "In that short time that blest Cargill had to run, he ran fast on foot" and his remark in the sentence following, that "Wherever he was called in several times and different places of the land, when he sat down for rest, being old and weary..." (*Ibid.*, ii.45, but vide also p.65 where he states that Cargill was frequently helped by Walter Smith "when he was fatigued with sore travel going on his feet, being an old man"). Alexander Smellie simply expanded on this report of Walker when he wrote of "old Donald Cargill" and "the old saint", and described him as "a poor, ageing, hunted minister" (Men of the Covenant, pp.270,280,284). In similar vein, James Dodds (1880) speaks of the Queensferry Paper as having been drafted "by old Donald Cargill, the worn-out faithful watchman", and, further on, describes him as "bending...under the load of seventy years of age" (The Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters, pp.260,1).
3. FCJC, 213.56.

Thus, Walker's conclusions, resting as they do upon youthful impression, on the one hand, and relatively late and indirect inquiry, on the other hand, must be considered in the light of the earlier records now available.

(B) Marriage

Proceeding, then, to the evidence of contemporary ecclesiastical and civil registers, Laurence Cargill (as has previously been intimated), in the year 1618 as a boy around eighteen years of age, made his first appearance in the Rattray Parish Register as witness to a baptism. At that time he was probably commencing his career as a clerk in his father's office. It has also been shown that this Register was undoubtedly kept by his father or by someone acting under his immediate supervision. Due, however, to the fact that it comes to a close in December of 1621, one event is rendered notably conspicuous by its absence--the date of the marriage of Laurence Cargill and Marjory Blair. "The banns of marriage of his [the Vicar's] elder son John, who appears throughout the volume as a witness to baptisms, the banns and also the marriage of his younger daughter Grissel, and the baptisms and births of their children, as well as those of the children of his elder daughter Janet, are all minutely recorded; whereas his younger son Laurence only appears six times throughout the whole volume, and that as witness to baptisms during the years 1618 to 1621."¹ It is therefore a virtual certainty that Laurence

1. Ibid., 213.57.

could not have married or had a son born before the end of the year 1621.

After the death of his father, the Vicar, Laurence Cargill continued to live in the Kirktown of Rattray (that is, in the half which apparently he had inherited)¹ until about May of 1626 when he bought the estate of Nether Cloquhat in the parish of Blairgowrie from William Chalmer² (and at which time it is likely that he sold his share of the Kirktown property to his brother, John³). The importance of this transaction lies in the fact that it may well have occurred as the immediate pre-requisite to his marriage to Marjory Blair in that he "bought the estate for their joint infeftment in terms of a marriage contract".⁴ It will be recalled that this was precisely the procedure that had been followed by his elder brother, John, in 1614 when he became portioner of the estate of Haltoun preparatory to his marriage to Jean Gray. The fact, too, that Marjory's brother, James, witnessed the granting of sasine of this estate on 17 February 1630 lends added credibility to the suggestion that her marriage had taken place

1. Vide supra p.11.

2. By a contract dated at Kirktown of Rattray, 25 and 30 May 1626, entered into between "William Chalmer of Nather Cloquhatt...Agnes Iyoun his mother and Helen Donaldsoun his spouse, on the one part, and Laurence Cargill sometime in Kirktown of Rattray then in Nether Cloquhat [sic] on the other part, [the first parties] sold to the said Laurence, his heirs and assignees whomsoever, irredeemably, the lands and town of Nather Cloquhatt, in the lordship of Scone, sheriffdom of Perth, to be held of the crown in feu-farm, valued at 9 lib. 13 sol. 4 den., with 8 bolls of oats and 8 sol. for pittances" etc. (RGS, ix., no.193; vide also SSC, ii.201).

3. FCJC, 213.49.

4. PC, F. Cargill to author, 15 December 1951. Vide infra p.24, n.3.

prior to that date.¹ And, moreover, it is by no means impossible that the death of Marjory's father sometime between 20 October 1625 and 25 June 1626² may have had something to do with opening the way for her forthcoming marriage.

(C) Eldest Son and Family

Accepting 1626, then, as the year of the marriage of Laurence Cargill and Marjory Blair, their eldest son, Donald, could have been born the following year.³ This means that he would have been eighteen years of age when he matriculated at St. Andrews University in 1645⁴--a much more likely age than twenty-six which he would have been if born in 1619,⁵ or thirty-six if 1610 be accepted as the year of his birth. Accordingly, at the time of his execution in 1681 Donald Cargill could not have exceeded fifty-four years of age which indicates how exaggerated was Patrick Walker's estimate that he was "past sixty years" when he died. This conclusion is further borne out by the only extant photograph of a painting of the Martyr which is traditionally reputed to have been done "the week

-
1. "In implement of this contract [vide supra p.21, n.2] William Chalmer granted a charter to Laurence Cargill, then in Nether Cloquhatt, dated at Alyth 10 February 1630, by virtue of which he received sasine, on 17 February following, of the town and lands of Nether Cloquhatt from Andrew Hering of Caleis, as bailie, in presence of James Blair of Ardblair, John Blair of Pittendreich, James Rattray of Rannagullane, George Drummond in Bonitoun of Rattray, and John Cargill, notary public" (PS, 17 February 1630, II.4.361).
 2. PS, II.1.391 and II.2.198.
 3. This date of birth was initially proposed by the late Dr. Featherstone Cargill, family genealogist, on the basis of the general line of evidence here developed.
 4. Vide SSC, ii.203.
 5. W.H. Carslaw, Op.Cit., in accepting 1619 as the date of his birth, confesses that "one is left to imagine all sorts of

before his execution" (vide frontispiece).¹ In it he appears to have been a younger man at the time of his death than either Patrick Walker or John Howie would allow.

It is relevant to mention also in this connection that, as late as 1657 in a letter to Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. James Sharp (afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews), in alluding to Cargill's admission to the Barony Church, Glasgow, two years previously, mentions him as one of a number of "young expectants" and, later on in the same letter, refers to them collect-

things as to what may have hindered him from entering the University sooner, or at least have induced him, at the age of twenty-five or twenty-six, to take so important a step" (p.12).

1. This photograph is currently on display in the University Library, St. Andrews. The explanatory note attached to it runs as follows: "This is the photograph of a portrait which was bought, in February 1898, by Miss Cargill, of 103 Inverness Terrace, London, from the late Rev. J.C. Carrick, Minister, Newbattle, Midlothian [vide FES, i.335]. The portrait had been the property of Mr. Carrick's grandfather, who had possessed it since 1830, and who wrote in a sales' catalogue dated circa 1863:- 'The portrait was bought by the present owner at the sale of a (then lately) deceased collector, of taste and judgement, whose inscription on the back was this:- "Original Portrait of the Reverend Donald Cargill, Minister of Barony Parish, Glasgow, executed in the reign of Charles II, 1681. This portrait is from the Gallery in Cambusnethan House (which was destroyed by fire), and was for upwards of a century in their possession".' The Rev. J.C. Carrick wrote to Miss Cargill that, according to tradition, the portrait 'was painted from life in the week before his execution' (perhaps he meant 'capture')." A quite dissimilar portrait of the martyr which appears in Bonar's 1879 edition of The Scots Worthies (p.437) cannot be authenticated since the publishing company (McGready, Thomson and Niven) is no longer in existence and since the records of the lithographers (McFarlane and Erskine) are not extant for that date. It does, however, bear one interesting mark of resemblance to the St. Andrews photograph in the youthful representation it gives of its subject.

ively as "these young men".¹ This would further underline the argument for a later birth date for the Covenanter than tradition suggests.

To conclude this background sketch, it may be said that the estate of Nether Cloquhat would not have figured prominently in the childhood memories of Donald Cargill, for, at the death of John Cargill about 1632, Laurence returned with his family to Rattray where he entered the notarial profession, succeeding to his brother's business.² Presumably by selling his estate of Nether Cloquhat early in 1634³ he was able in May of the same year to obtain wadset from Dr. Patrick Hay of "the town and lands of Bonytoun⁴ of Rattray, including the pendicle called Glendanis, and the wood and lands called Hadeven"--in which property Laurence, his family and subtenants had by

-
1. Vide Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh, ed. William Stephen, ii.11.
 2. Vide supra p.14. "It seems likely that it was his elder brother's death that was the cause of Laurence Cargill's taking up notarial work and returning to Rattray" (FCJC, 213.50).
 3. "Finlay Cudbert [sic] alias M'Invoir" was granted sasine of the town and lands of Nether Cloquhatt, Laurence Cargill signing at Dunkeld and Marjorie Blair at Ledcample with her hand led by the notaries" (PS, 4 February 1634). On 27 May following, this purchase was confirmed by a charter granted by "Laurence Cargill of Nather Cloquhatt, by which, with consent of Marjorie Blair his spouse, for fulfillment of a contract dated at Dunkeld and Ledcample of Nather Cloquhatt, 25 and 29 Jan. 1634), he sold to Finlay Cuthbert alias M'Invoir in Auchnahill, his heirs and assignees whomsoever, irredeemably, the lands &c. above-written...dated at Bonnetoun of Rattray, 27 May 1634" (RGS, ix., no.193; vide also SSC, ii.201). "The fact that Marjorie Blair's consent was necessary for the sale of the Estate proves that she had been liferented in it" (PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy) 14 September 1945).
 4. Now known as Bonnington.

then been for sometime resident.¹ For some twenty years thereafter Laurence prosecuted his notarial work thought it is quite evident from perusal of the sasine records that his practice was by no means as extensive as that which had been maintained by his father and brother--most of whose business seems to have been acquired by Patrick Robertson whose career had commenced in the Vicar's office. Throughout these years Laurence consistently styled himself in the official documents as "Laurence Cargill of Bonytoun of Rattray".

Late in life, about 1654, Laurence purchased a fourth part of the estate of Wester Banchrie in the parish of Blairgowrie² to which he then moved and in which he appears to have remained until his death toward the close of 1657.

It is the Bonytoun of Rattray, however, that commands

-
1. These lands, received by contract dated 30 May 1634 from Dr. Patrick Hay, were under reversion of 3000 merks borrowed from him. "During the non-redemption of the foresaid lands, [he] set in tack to him the teind sheaves thereof for yearly payment to the minister at the Kirk of Rattray of L.21 5s Scots; and, further, set in tack to him, during the space fore-said, the lands called the Hillock of the Bonytoun of Rattray, with the teind sheaves thereof, then likewise occupied by the said Laurence and his subtenants for yearly payment to the said Dr Patrick Hay of 78 merks 20 pounds [sic] Scots" (FCJC, 213.51; vide GS, 23 April 1659, II.16.62).
 2. Vide GS, 23 April 1659 supra. In "the testament of Marion Cargill, given up by herself, who died within the parish of Lethendy dated 22 _____ 1654", there appears among the debts owing to the defunct, "Item be Laurence Cargill portioner of Banchrie x lib. iiij s." (Perth Commissariat, Testaments, i.501). According to the Rentall of the County of Perth, ed. William Gloag, the rental of "the Clegwhat" in 1650 was L.185 Scots, for "Bougtoune [sic] of Rattray" L.90 Scots, and for a fourth part of Wester Banchrie L.120 Scots.

central place at this juncture. While evidence points most strongly to Nether Cloquhat as the birth-place of the subject of this work, his earliest recollections would most likely have been centred around Bonytoun. There, from about the age of five years, within the limited venue of home and kirk, this "eldest son of a singular godly gentleman" gained the first of life's impressions. There, too, he may¹ have received the rudiments of the education that played so large a part in the shaping of his life and in the destiny that was to perpetuate his own and his family name.²

1. Vide p.67 ff.

2. His younger brothers and sisters, whose names have been preserved in the various records of the period, were like-products of this Bonytoun home as will subsequently be seen. Though their order of birth remains indefinite in part, their names may be given tentative listing as James, Grissel, John, David, Jean and Anne (vide p. 49 ff). JAMES is perhaps most frequently mentioned in the records as he witnessed numerous bonds and other transactions for his elder brother (e.g., vide SSC, ii.201). GRISSEL married Donald Crockat (her first husband) on 26 January 1649. He was a notary public in Morentie (vide DPD, ii. 202,357). JEAN married James Yeaman of East Walkmilne of Rattray on 5 August 1658 (Alyth Parish Register; DPD, ii.84). ANNE'S name appears at the head of the inscription in Donald Cargill's Bible (vide Appendix D). It was she who received the Bible from him at his own request as he stood upon the scaffold. The names of JOHN and DAVID have come to light only in a brief note included in a letter written to Dr. F. Cargill "from an American lady who claims descent from one of Mr. Cargill's brothers, in which she says that in an interview she had many years ago with the late Mr. John Hunter, minister of Rattray, and author of the Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, he told her that he had found in the Edinburgh Records that Mr. Donald Cargill 'had brothers, James, John and David and sisters, Janet, Grissel and Anne'". (The "American lady" referred to is the late Miss Luella Owen, cousin of Mr. J.P. Cargill. Vide PC, J.P. Cargill to author, 22 September 1953.) The identity of the corresponding names in DPD, i.305 and ii.466,131 is obscure as is that of the "Johne Cargill

To the fuller consideration of his home and environmental influences we now turn.

sheepheard in the Kirktoune" who on 7 February 1658 was summoned before the Rattray Parish Kirk Session "for drunkenness" (RPR). The fact, it should be noted, that Patrick Walker speaks of Donald as the "eldest" son of a Rattray heritor lends some weight to this reported discovery of John Hunter--unless, of course, Patrick was following a tradition that confused Donald with his cousin of Haltoun who was the eldest son of a Rattray heritor.

CHAPTER II

B. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

I FAMILY

(A) PARENTS

(B) NEAR RELATIONS

(I) THE ARDBLAIR FAMILY

- a. James Blair
- b. Jean Blair (Iundie)
- c. John Blair of Ballied
- d. Patrick Blair

(II) THE VICAR'S FAMILY

- a. John Cargill of Haltoun
- b. Janet Cargill (Blair)
- c. Grissel Cargill (Drummond)

(C) BROTHERS AND SISTERS

- (I) JAMES CARGILL IN BONYTOUN
- (II) GRISSSEL CARGILL (CROCKAT, PATULLO)
- (III) JEAN CARGILL (YEAMAN)
- (IV) ANNE CARGILL (PATERSON)

B. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

Having with some measure of success drawn aside the shroud of mystery which so long and so effectively obscured the ancestry and birth of that eldest son of a heritor in Rattray, it is now in order to examine the conditions of influence that were brought to bear on him during the earlier --and later--years of his life and which played an important part in shaping the course it took. These will best be brought to light within the general framework of home and school. Following, therefore, the pattern of normal biographical precedent, the family influence will be first considered.

(A) PARENTS

Two of Donald Cargill's earliest biographers have provided some indication of the character of the home in which he was born and reared. According to John Howie, he belonged to "a most respected family in the parish",¹ and in A Cloud of Witnesses it is averred that his father was "a godly and religious gentleman".² The addition of these details comports with the background scene already sketched and leaves the picture more complete. It reveals Laurence Cargill not only as a worthy and respected successor to his father in the notarial profession but, more important, as the conservator of the religious heritage bequeathed him by the Vicar who, for

1. The Scots Worthies (W.H. Carslaw ed.), p.439.

2. (J.H. Thompson ed.), p.1.

nearly fifty years¹ in an era of national religious ferment, served his parish in the interests of the newly-established Reformed Faith. Furthermore, it represents the Bonytoun home as a fit depository of the new faith and Laurence as the one who faithfully dispensed this treasure to each member of that home.

From Donald's earliest youth it is clear that his father exercised a deep personal concern in his son's spiritual welfare and vocation, the culminating urgency of which appears to have been reached at the completion of his university training at which time Laurence set before him with unstinting vigour and entreaty the claims and challenge of the ministry.² While more particular consideration will be devoted to this cardinal event in the youth's life within its actual setting, it does serve at this point to indicate that Laurence's effort and influence were not unavailing, for Patrick Walker relates that Donald "from his youth...was much given to prayer".³ The religious legacy handed down from Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray, had been faithfully transmitted to his name-sake of the third generation.

One aspect of Donald Cargill's early life which his

1. He served, it will be recalled, for nearly twenty of these years (1574 to 1591) when the parish of Rattray had no minister of its own (vide supra p.3, n. 1 and p.8, n.3).

2. Vide A Cloud of Witnesses, p.502

3. SSC, ii.8.

biographers have passed over in silence is that which concerns his mother's influence upon him. There is, in fact, not even a single reference to her identity.¹ It was not until the year 1798 that Robert Douglas, in his Baronage of Scotland, revealed that she was a daughter of Patrick Blair of Ardblair by his first wife, Isabel Ramsay.² From the standpoint of the religious dichotomy of the period the marriage is of particular significance. The non-conformist sympathies of Laurence³ were evident from his driving ambition to see his 'Covenanted'⁴ son enrolled in divinity training, but there is also evidence to the effect that his wife, Marjory, was of the same mind in the matter. Both, it appears, shared the desire to see Donald set aside the opportunities of following his father in the notarial profession in order to pursue the hazardous and uncertain course of ministerial service and this harmony of purpose is borne out not only by the result realised in their son's life but by what

-
1. A rather oblique reference to her does occur in W.P. Ireland's A Hand-Book to Blairgowrie, Rattray, and Neighbourhood (p.93). He says: "The statement, that Mrs _____ the widowed mother of the devoted Donald Cargill, the martyr... had to retire to the Drumend [East Rattray] and live on her jointure, we have in one instance heard contradicted, but we may say was substantiated. Like most families of the earth, her's became widely spread, some branches, we believe going to New Castle." The 'substantiation' of this tradition, however, is not disclosed though it is quite true that many of the Vicar's family and of the larger Cargill connection eventually found their way into many parts of England (vide PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945 and SSC, ii.202,3).
 2. Vide Appendix B.
 3. Vide e.g., p.50, n.1.
 4. Donald Cargill signed the Solemn League and Covenant in 1645 at St. Andrews--the year of his matriculation at St. Salvator's College (vide Some Subscribed Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant by D. Hay Fleming, p.9 and SSC,ii.203).

can be deduced of the religious character of her generation of the Ardblair family itself--although, as will also be seen, its next generation represented both extremes of the intensifying conflict.

(B) NEAR RELATIONS

In order to ascertain insofar as possible the total impact of family influence that was brought to bear upon Donald Cargill, it is necessary to venture beyond the confines of the Bonytoun estate and into the homes of his uncles, aunts, cousins and, in some instances, of relatives even further removed. Within this larger 'family circle' was represented an array of influences of varying force and direction--influences that confronted him not only in youth but with equal intensity in later years as well, for, like the nation at large, this was not a family at one with itself. The recurring attempts of the Stuarts for well over a century to press the newly won Reformed Faith--and its adherents--into an Erastian mould succeeded only in segregating and alienating from both monarch and 'conforming' subjects the 'non-conforming' independents of presbyterian persuasion. While principle undoubtedly gave place to expediency on the part of many who associated themselves with these intransigent parties, it still seems clear that the cleavage was fundamentally a religious one--as will subsequently emerge. Irreconcilable positions had been assumed by the respective parties on the subject of the Church's ultimate authority and government, thus touching life at a most vital point.

The ready willingness of multitudes to jeopardise or surrender personal property, common comforts and social position, not to speak of ordinary friendships, home ties, pastoral relationships and frequently life itself serves to underline the magnitude of the issues that were at stake. It was a conflict that affected men at that point which matters most and from which, on this account, the deepest feelings could not be divorced. Only by viewing this civil conflict in this context is it possible to appreciate the force and effect which the contradictory alignments of the Cargill family connection had upon the non-conformist son of Laurence Cargill. The analysis, therefore, of these cross-currents of influence may be appropriately commenced by examining Marjory's side of the family.¹

(1) THE ARDBIAIR FAMILY

a. James Blair

The son and heir of Patrick Blair of Ardblair was James who succeeded to his father's estate in 1626.² Robert Douglas, in a brief reference to the distressed (impoverished) state in which he (James) found himself, by virtue of his eldest son John's attachment to the Royalist cause, suggests that father and son had like sympathies.³ He informs us further that James "suffered

1. Vide supra pp.9,17.

2. Vide supra p.21 and also DB, 191.

3. Robert Douglas states that John ['James' is clearly a misprint] was "a steady loyalist, who, in his father's lifetime, was greatly distressed on account of his attachment to the interest of the royal family. He [John] had command of a

many hardships during the troubles in the reign of king Charles I", though no indication follows as to the nature of those "hardships". The Ardblair family was, therefore, deeply involved in the hostilities that raged.

With one exception the other children of James also cast their lot with the royalist party. (This exception was Isabel of whom vide infra.) Perhaps their allegiance was due in part to their mother's influence. James's wife was Magdalene Blair¹ (daughter of Sir John Blair of Balgillo)² whose sister, Jean, married the strong royalist, John Blair second of Pittendreich.³ It may, therefore, have been the Balgillo-Pittendreich influence that fostered their royalist sympathies.

JOHN, James's son and heir, married Isabel Stewart, "daughter of commissary James Stewart of Ladywell, sister-german of that great loyalist sir Gilbert Stewart of Polcack [sic], who had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him at the restoration of king Charles II".⁴ His loyalist attachments are further disclosed by Robert Douglas: "He had the command of a troop of horse at duke Hamilton's engagement; and, after the restoration, was appointed captain of the Perthshire militia".⁵

troop of horse at duke Hamilton's engagement; and, after the restoration, was appointed captain of the Perthshire militia, of which sir James Mercer of Aldie was colonel" (DB, 191).

1. PS, 20 October 1625 (II.1.392).

2. It is to be noted that the second wife of Patrick Blair (James's step-mother) was Grissel Blair, the sister of Sir John Blair of Balgillo (FCJC, 213.37). This James, therefore, married his step-cousin.

3. Vide infra p.42.

4. DB, 191.

5. Ibid.

James's second son, Mr. THOMAS BLAIR, graduated M.A. from St. Andrews in 1656 and became a conformist minister at Blairgowrie in 1664 where he served until presented by James VII to Bendochy in 1688.¹

The third son of James, DAVID BLAIR, is described by Robert Douglas as "a gallant officer [who] defended the Bass, which was the last place held out for king James VII in Britain, [and who] went to France to his royal master and died there without issue".²

James's daughter, ISABEL,³ alone appears to have gone contrary to her father's persuasion. This was perhaps largely due to her marriage to Mr. John Robertson, the son of Patrick Robertson who had served for many years as notary with Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray.⁴ John was born about 1623, educated at the Coupar School and graduated M.A. from the University of St. Andrews in 1644--the year prior to Donald Cargill's matriculation.⁵ He was admitted to Airlie parish, presbytery of Meigle, in 1650 and deprived in 1662 for non-conformity.⁶ Due to his father's association with Laurence Cargill (and the Vicar) and to the fact that he was Donald Cargill's cousin by marriage, John (though four years his senior), would doubtless have enjoyed a close friendship with Donald from youth.

b. Jean Blair (Lundie)

Jean Blair, like her sister, Marjory,

1. Ibid. and FES, v.253,6.

2. DB, 191.

3. The only one named among four daughters mentioned by Robert Douglas (Ibid.), but vide infra p.57, n.5.

4. Vide supra p.25.

5. D. Hay Fleming, Op.Cit., p.9, n.2.

6. FES, v.247.

stood in the line of non-conformity. Among the children born to her and her husband, Mr. Thomas Lundie of Alyth,¹ was Thomas, Jr. who received his M.A. from St. Andrews in 1635 and served the Rattray Parish Kirk from 1637 to his deposition in 1664.² As he had joined the Protesting Party in 1651, he was undoubtedly of kindred spirit with Laurence Cargill, his brother-in-law and parishioner, in urging Donald into the 'Covenanted' ministry.

C. John Blair of Ballied

Patrick Blair's last child, John of Ballied,³ seems also to have inclined to the conformist party. He was the only child of Patrick by his second wife, Grissel Blair,⁴ which, coupled with his marriage to Jean Blair (the sister of John Blair II of Pittendreich and also his first cousin once removed),⁵ may

1. *Ibid.*, v.249.

2. *Ibid.*, iv.171 and DPD, ii.348-61.

3. Or Balude (vide DB, 191). It is possible to adduce very little definite information as to the influence of Patrick's daughter, Eupham (vide DPD, ii.262). She was three times married: (1) to Laurence Stewart, by whom she had one daughter, Issobell, who married her second cousin, "Patrick Craigill [sic] in Kirkton of Rattray" (the son of John Cargill of Haltoun, vide *infra* p.38). (2) To Patrick Ireland, who may have belonged to the strongly conformist family of that name (vide DPD, ii.237-56 and FES, ii.428,9, iv.161,6, v.63). (3) To John Wilson, by whom she had a son, Thomas, who was admitted to Kinloch parish in 1668 and deposed ten years later "probably on account of the Test" (FES, iv.167; vide also DPD, ii.262-71).

4. Vide *supra* p.34, n.2.

5. John Blair of Ballied married Jean in 1650 (vide PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (copy), 14 September 1945). She was therefore both niece and (step) sister-in-law to Marjory Blair. Jean had previously been married to "Major [William] Scrymgeour, without issue" (DB, 192 and vide *infra* p.45, n.1).

account for his trend toward conformity. One of his sons was Mr. Gilbert Blair who was presented by James VII to the parish of Blairgowrie in 1688. The following year he was "deprived by the Privy Council...for not reading the Proclamation of the Estates".¹ While these events followed by several years the death of Donald Cargill, they nevertheless reflect again the Balgillo-Pittendreich influence which seems always to have been strongly royalist.

d. Patrick Blair

According to Robert Douglas, Marjory Blair had yet another brother, Patrick, whose son of the same name became a merchant in Aberdeen.² It is highly probable that this latter Patrick exercised an influential role in the life of his cousin, Donald, but this influence must be considered within its appropriate context.³

This sketch of the Ardblair family will, for the present, suffice to reveal the spirit of division that characterised Marjory's brothers and sisters and which entered into the ranks of their sons and daughters (Donald's cousins) and led them into the opposing camps of religious and political hostility. Accordingly, the way is clear to turn to and examine the cross-currents of influence that entered the Bonytoun home from the Cargill side of the family. It will, in similar fashion,

1. Vide FES, v.256 and DB, 191.

2. DB, 191.

3. Vide infra p.72ff.

be most practicable to trace these streams of influence through the respective lines of Laurence's brother and sisters--John, Janet and Grissel Cargill.

(II) THE VICAR'S FAMILY

a. John Cargill of Haltoun

John Cargill has previously received mention as the elder brother of Laurence and successor to his father's estate.¹ He commenced his career as a writer in his father's office, in which he afterward served for some twenty-five years as notary public. In 1613 he became associated with his father, the Vicar, in yet another respect when he was admitted to eldership in the Rattray Parish Kirk. It is likely that he served in this office until his death about 1632² but, aside from this, nothing more is to be gleaned concerning his position on the religious issues of the day. By his marriage to Jean Gray, five children are known to have been born,³ only one of whom demands consideration in this survey of influence--his son, Donald.

DONALD CARGILL, styled "of Haltoun of Rattray" after his father's death, may have received early training as a writer⁴

-
1. Vide supra pp.12-15.
 2. The gap in the Rattray Parish Register after 1621 leaves this inconclusive.
 3. Margaret, July 1615; Donald, June 1616; John, December 1620; Janet; and Patrick, born after the Register came to a close, but who married Issobell Stewart, grand-daughter of Patrick Blair of Ardblair and, therefore, his second cousin (vide supra p.36, n.3 and FCJC, 213.27).
 4. Possibly under his uncle, Laurence Cargill, as curator. This is suggested by two bonds which he himself wrote, one on 15 August 1661 (Deeds, Durie, 12 September 1666) and the other on 15 August 1666 (Deeds, Dalrymple, 8 April 1668). (Vide FCJC, 213.13,14,16,17,23 & 24.)

but there is no evidence that he ever qualified as a notary public. It was probably in 1638,¹ at the age of twenty-two years, that he married Isobel Drummond, eldest daughter of James Drummond of Milnab. His marriage is significant in that it linked him with a well-known family of conformist persuasion. Isobel's oldest brother was Mr. David Drummond who was minister at Crieff from 1635 until he was deposed in 1649, after which, in 1668, he went to Ireland where he became rector of Omagh.² Her third brother, George "plyed the merchant trade very happily abroad and at home and was divers times Baylie of Edinburgh".³ At the same time, even though his religious proclivities are as obscure as his father's, Donald seems to have maintained a fairly close link with his cousin, Donald (the Covenanter). Not only did he serve as an elder on the kirk session while

1. Probably shortly after 30 June for on that date Isobel was infert in certain lands (PS, II.9.69).

2. FES, iv.265.

3. The Genealogy of the...House of Drummond by William Drummond, p.63. George Drummond served as a member of the Edinburgh Town Council from 1663 until elected Lord Provost in 1683 by nomination of the Crown. In the midst of his two-year term of office he was knighted "it is said because of his efforts regarding the statue of Charles II erected in Parliament Close". He was the first master of the Edinburgh Merchant Company which was organised in 1681. In February 1685 he took the Test demanded by the newly-crowned James VII and the following month was elected a commissioner to Parliament. It is recorded, however, that he as "a Commissioner for the Town of Edinburgh in the parliament of 1686 did adhere verie firme to the protestant religion against the [Toleration] act for abrogating the penall lawes made against poperie". According to R.S. Rait in The Parliaments of Scotland, he would, therefore, have been one of the seven burgesses who are recorded as having voted against the Act at the time it was passed (p.92). Vide Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh (1681-1689) ed. Marguerite Wood and Helen Armet, xix, xviii, xxxvi, 81,83,84,90, 123,136,139,261 and The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh (1296-1932) by Thomas B. Whitson, pp.51,2.

living in Rattray,¹ but, in 1665, when he was forced through mounting indebtedness to liquidate his inherited property,² it was to his cousin that it was sold.³ Following this, he and his wife moved to Perth where they evidently resided for the remainder of their lives.⁴

It is probable that the presence of Bailie George Drummond of Edinburgh had something to do with the leniency extended on one occasion by the Privy Council to the Covenanter during the decade following his banishment north of the Tay,⁵ for it is clear that, though a conformist, he "did adhere verie firme to

-
1. Under the strongly non-conformist ministry of Mr. Thomas Lundie (FES, iv.170).
 2. For some of the principal transactions leading up to the final disposal of his Rattray property, vide FCJC, 213. 16-22. His inherited property included the estates of Haltoun, Easter Drimmie, the Kirklands and Kirktown. While living in Rattray he seems to have resided not at Haltoun but in the Kirktown (vide Appendix B).
 3. Vide SSC, ii.200.
 4. Vide a bond written by Donald Cargill (of Haltoun) on 15 August 1666 in which he styles himself "indweller in Pearth" (Deeds, Dalrymple, 8 April 1668). "The fact that no heir is mentioned in the documents relating to the sale of his property renders it unlikely that he had any children. He is referred to as 'the deceast Donald Cargill of Haltoune' in a Rattray sasine dated 7 July 1686" (PS, VI.10.233, 20 August 1687 and vide FCJC, 213.24).
 5. John Howie, basing his account on that of Robert Hamilton in A Cloud of Witnesses (J.H. Thomson edition, p.504), writes: "Thus he continued [his narrow escapes] until the 23d of November 1668, when the Council, upon information of a breach of his confinement, cited him to appear before them on the 11th of January thereafter. But though he was apprehended and brought before the Council and strictly examined,...yet, by the interposition of some persons of quality, his own friends, and his wife's relations, he was dismissed, and presently returned to Glasgow, where he performed all the ministerial duties as when in his own church, notwithstanding the diligence of his persecutors in searching for him" (Op. Cit., pp.442,3). Vide also The Register of the Privy Council

the protestant religion".¹

b. Janet Cargill (Blair)

Within the larger Cargill 'family circle', the family of Janet Cargill, elder daughter of the Vicar, exhibits the most complete adherence to the conformist position. She was married in 1606 to John Blair of Ledcassie²--afterward, of Pittendreich, parish of Kinloch.³ John began his career as notary public under the Vicar⁴ but, in 1614, he moved to Pittendreich where

of Scotland, III.ii.578,82,3 & iii.69,70. It should be noted in this connection that another of his relatives who may have intervened on his behalf was John Blair of Ardblair (supra p.34) who, on 21 June 1666, had been appointed a Justice of the Peace for Perthshire and who later (on 3 September 1668) had been made a captain in the Perthshire militia (vide Ibid., III.ii.172 & 532). David Beaton of Bandon also merits mention as one of Cargill's "wife's relations". He was the son of the Robert Beaton of Bandon who had been appointed tutor to the children of Margaret Brown after her death in 1656 (vide infra). David, on 12 July 1666, had been appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy (Ibid., III.ii.178).

1. Marguerite Wood and Helen Armet, Op.Cit., p.261.
2. PS, 10 March 1606 (6.560). The lands of Ledcassie, however, were redeemed from him on 6 June 1606, about five months after his marriage to Janet, by Patrick Blair of Ardblair (PS, 9 July 1606).
3. John Blair, husband of Janet Cargill, was the first laird of Pittendreich, barony of Glasclune (RPR, February 1614). His father, also named John, was of Wester Banchrie (PS, 4 July & 31 August 1605), not of Pittendreich as stated in DB, 188 & 192 (vide RGS, v. no.238). His grandfather was Alexander Blair of Balthyock from whose ancestors the Blairs of Ardblair had branched in the early 15th century (DB, 187, 190). A few years before his death, John of Pittendreich bought the adjoining estate of Lethendy from Sir David Hering of Glasclune where he served as notary the rest of his life (FCJC, 213.31,2).
4. FCJC, 213.30.

he continued his profession until his death in 1645.¹ Janet lived until about 1670 or shortly thereafter.² Of eight children born to them, five merit consideration with respect to their religious affinities.³

JOHN BLAIR'S marriage to Jean Blair, sister-in-law of James Blair of Ardblair (Marjory's brother) and daughter to Sir John Blair of Balgillo, has already been noted.⁴ As the eldest son of his father, he inherited the estates of Pittendreich and Lethendy which were subsequently erected into a free barony of Lethendy.⁵ Of the children born to him, three deserve notice. Captain James Blair served with Colonel George Lauder's Scots Regiment in Holland.⁶ Captain Patrick Blair served with the Earl of Dunmore's Regiment of Dragoons and fought under Viscount Dundee at Killiecrankie.⁷ Mr. John Blair served the parish of Caputh from 1663 to 1667 and the parish of Kilspindie from then until the Revolution. He was deposed in 1691 for contumacy.⁸

-
1. Vide DPD, ii.227. Janet Cargill was infeft in the lands of Pittendreich on 6 December 1627 (PS, II.3.240).
 2. She was still alive in 1670 (Deeds, Mackenzie, 3 June 1670, 34.123) and was dead 25 June 1672 (PS, VI.5.256).
 3. Vide FCJC, 213.34 and DB, 192 (where a second 'Jean' is listed). Margaret was married in 1625 to Mr. John Strachan who was educated at Marischal College, admitted to Lethendy about 1639 where he served for less than ten years, and died before 1660. Nothing has been determined as to his religious position (vide FES, iv.165 & viii.352 and DPD, ii.304).
 4. Vide supra p.34.
 5. Vide FCJC, 213.31,2 and DB, 192.
 6. Vide FCJC, 213.34 and The Scots Brigade in Holland ed. James Ferguson, ii.18, n.3 and DPD, ii.187, n.2.
 7. Vide FCJC, loc.cit. and James Ferguson, Op.Cit., i.506 and ii.17 & n.2.
 8. FCJC, loc.cit. and FES, iv.214.

MR. DONALD BLAIR was presented by Charles I to Lundie and Easter Fowlis in 1636 but was deposed by the General Assembly in 1649 for supporting the Engagement. After the Restoration he served for three years, until 1668, in the parish of Kinloch. He married Katharine Ogilvy and it was their daughter, Anna, who married Mr. Thomas Wilson, Donald's successor at Kinloch.¹

MR. GEORGE BLAIR of Glascune is described as one who was bred to business, and, by his industry and good oeconomy, having acquired a considerable fortune, he purchased the estate of Lethindy in Perthshire. He married Eupham, daughter of Dr. Blair of the family of Balgillo, a clergyman in Ireland, who, having married a daughter of Kirkton, he, his wife, and said daughter Eupham, narrowly escaped the massacre in that kingdom.²

For some years George was factor and chamberlain to the Earl of Queensberry.³ Three of his children are known to have perpetuated his royalist affections. John, who succeeded to his estate, took part in the Rebellion of 1715, and his son, Thomas, for his part in the Rebellion of 1745, forfeited his estate of Glascune to the Crown.⁴ George's daughter, Margaret, married

-
1. Ibid., 213.35 and FES, iv.167 & v.355. Thomas was her second cousin once removed (vide supra p.36, n.3).
 2. DB, 193. George purchased the barony of Lethendy from Thomas Blair, another son of John II of Pittendreich (Deeds, Mackenzie, 3 June 1670; 34.123). The 'Dr. Blair' whose daughter he married is probably the 'James Blair' D.D. who was presented by the Crown on 10 December 1635 as Prebendary of Kilroot, Diocese of Connor, and who had no successor after his flight until 1662 (Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae by Henry Cotton, iii.266). The 'massacre' referred to was the Irish Rebellion of 1641 (vide J. King Hewison, The Covenanters, i.363, 4 & 494).
 3. FCJC, 213.35. His arms are recorded in the Lyon Register, i.121.
 4. FCJC, 213.36.

Mr. Henry Christie who was presented by Charles II to the parish of Kinross in 1679 but deprived ten years afterward

for neither reading the Proclamation of the Estates, nor praying for William and Mary, but for restoration of James VII. and 'confusion to his enemies'. . . He was consecrated a Bishop of the Non-jurant Church at Dundee

in 1709.¹ A younger daughter, Jean, who married John Patullo, her second cousin, will be considered subsequently.²

PATRICK BLAIR of Little Blair was a Lieutenant Colonel during the Civil War--doubtless on the royalist side. He bought the Estate of Little Blair in the parish of Blairgowrie in 1651. After the Restoration he was appointed Sheriff of Orkney. His only daughter, Margaret, in 1674, married James Blair of Ardblair, grand-son of James (Marjory's brother), and first cousin once removed of Donald Cargill, the Covenant-er.³ This James is described by Robert Douglas as

a man of parts, and much esteemed in the country. He was a captain of the militia, a justice of the peace, one of the commissioners of supply for the county of Perth, &c. &c. &c. but gave up all public business after the revolution.⁴

JEAN BLAIR, as has been noted, was twice married. Her

1. Ibid., 213.35,6 and FES, v.66.

2. Vide infra p.58.

3. Vide FCJC, 213.36; DB, 191,2; Marguerite Wood and Helen Armet, Op.Cit. (1642-1655), p. 384 and (1655-1665), p.181; Scotland and the Protectorate by C.H. Firth, p.314; and DPD, ii.273 & 464. Patrick Blair was born probably about 1614. He trained as a writer under his father and qualified as a notary in 1633. He bought the lands of Little Blair, parish of Blairgowrie, in 1651 and died in 1672.

4. "He died anno 1724 in the 68th year of his age" (DB, 192). He would have been, therefore, only about thirty-four years of age when he "gave up all public business".

first husband was Major William Scrymgeour of Fardle¹ who may have lost his life while serving in the Army of the Covenant in 1645. In 1650 she married John Blair of Ballied, her first cousin once removed. By him she had three sons, one of whom, Mr. Gilbert Blair, has received attention as a conformist minister late in the Restoration period. Another son, John, who married his second cousin, Grissel Drummond, will be considered below within the framework of her family.

From the sketch thus far, it is patently clear that there was, among the families of the Vicar's older son and daughter, a high concentration of conformist influence which would have confronted Donald Cargill (the Covenanter) throughout his life. The numerous and complicated inter-marriages that took place meant that he was never far removed from it. In turning next, however, to Grissel, the younger daughter of the Vicar, other influences emerge which contributed forcefully to the non-conformist position that Donald came to represent.

c. Grissel Cargill (Drummond)

Grissel Cargill, third of the Vicar's family, was married in 1615 to George Drummond of the family of Blair.² After liv-

-
1. Vide supra p.36, n.5. This Major Scrymgeour is doubtless the same person as the 'Major William Scrimgeour' who fought in 1644 and 1645 with the Army of the Covenant (vide Papers Relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant ed. C.S. Terry, xxv, xxvi, 40-2, & 72). He may have been related to her brother George's mother-in-law and would appear to have been a royalist.
 2. RPR, 29 January 1615. The family of Blair had a history of strong royalist sympathy. George's grandfather "did good service to Queen Marie in the time of her troubles against the English", and other members of the family manifested

ing for some years in the parish of Blairgowrie,¹ they eventually moved to Rattray, finally settling in the Kirkton where they lived the remainder of their lives.² George appears as an elder in the Rattray Parish Kirk early in the year 1662.³ Of five sons born to them,⁴ two are of present concern.

DONALD DRUMMOND, the second son to Grissel and George, and born in 1617.⁵ In about 1639 he married Katharine Sanders, widow of James Soutar of Blair and life-rentrix of the sunny half of a third part of the Kirkton of Blair.⁶ They had one daughter, Marjory, who married Thomas Whitson, a notary in Rattray.⁷ It is this Thomas who was an intimate friend of Donald Cargill in the years following his deposition from the Barony, as is evident from his having been a frequent witness to the Covenanter's legal transactions during that period.⁸ He was an elder in the Rattray Parish Kirk at the time of his

a similar loyalty. George's sister, Jean, "went with Lady Jean Drummond, Countess of Roxburgh, to the court at London, and was married to Mr. Thomas Murray, provost of Ayton College, and governor to King Charles the First when he was Prince of Wales" (William Drummond, *Op.Cit.*, pp.114-7). His aunt, Janet Drummond, married George Rattray, the brother of Mr. Silvester Rattray, minister at Rattray from 1591 to 1623 (*Ibid.*, and vide also DB. 277).

1. He was tenant of Lorntie, a pendicle of the lands of Blair (RPR, 1 March 1617 and vide also PS, 31 May 1619).
2. Before finally settling in the Kirkton of Rattray he had lived in Wester Banchrie, Middle Drimmie (parish of Rattray), Bonytoun of Rattray and Haltoun of Rattray (PS, 17 April 1626; II.2.196; vide also FCJC, 214.28-30).
3. RPR, 14 February.
4. Vide FCJC, 213.41-4.
5. RPR, 1 March 1617.
6. Vide PS, II.8.194; *Deeds, Durie*, 29 July 1672; DPD, ii. 303; and FCJC, 214.30-33.
7. Vide William Drummond, *Op.Cit.*, p.116 and DPD, ii.157 & 265.
8. Vide e.g., FCJC, 213.64, 7, 79 & 87. He was Donald Cargill's first cousin once removed. For an example of Thomas Whitson's non-conformist position, vide DPD, ii.480.

death in 1717.¹ It was through his descendants that the Kirk-toun and Haltoun properties in Rattray were combined into the Hill-Whitson Estate of Parkhill.² After Marjory's death in 1678,³ he married Janet Anderson, a daughter of Mr. John Anderson who championed the cause of the Protesters in the parish of Cargill.⁴

The other son of Grissel whose family influence was weighted on the side of non-conformity was PATRICK DRUMMOND of Polcalk. In 1657 he married Jean Hering⁵ who died not long afterward. His second wife was Janet Crockat whom he married in 1660,⁶ and through whom he received the wadset lands of Polcalk. Five daughters were born to this marriage, the line of influence of three of whom can be traced. Grissel, the eldest, may have indeed broken somewhat from the non-conformist tradition of her family by marrying her second cousin, John Blair,

1. RPR, March 1717.

2. Thomas Whitson's son, William, married Isobel Drummond, his first cousin once removed (vide infra). William pre-deceased his father and his son, Thomas, succeeded to his grandfather's estate of three and one-half eight-parts of the Kirk-toun of Rattray. It was this Thomas who built the mansion of Parkhill. His eldest son, Thomas, nearly doubled the family estate in 1766 when he purchased the property of Haltoun of Rattray (vide FCJC, 213.43,4 and 214.28-36, 153-60 & 213-6).

3. FCJC, 213.42.

4. FES, iv.149,50. Though he died in 1650 his non-conformist views are implied in his having been a member of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. Moreover, his eldest son, Robert was rejected from the parish of Leuchars in 1659 because he had been proposed by the Protesting Presbytery of Dunkeld and, on which account, he withdrew from the ministry until 1690 when he was ordained to the same parish. A brief ministry in Perth followed (FES, iv.231).

5. Deeds, Mackenzie, 1 December 1691.

6. RPR, October.

grandson of Janet Cargill (the Vicar's daughter).¹ The precise direction of her sympathies thereafter, however, is obscure. Her two younger sisters continued in the way of non-conformity. Isobel married William Whitson, the son of Thomas Whitson (supra) and, therefore, her first cousin once removed.² Anna married Mr. James Gray who was ordained to Kinloch parish in 1697.³

Thus, insofar as can be discerned, where the family of Janet represented almost en bloc the general spirit or viewpoint of conformity with the ecclesiastical policy of the Stuarts, the family of Grissel, in contradistinction, remained concertedly attached to the cause which sought for an ecclesiastically autonomous kirk. Each, accordingly, exhibits a certain unity of character with respect to the issues at stake and by which its influence may the more readily be measured. With respect, however, to the last of the families to be considered--that of Laurence, youngest son of the Vicar, there is no such convenient means of classification.

(C) BROTHERS AND SISTERS

The stream of influence which is fittingly last considered, but which is by no means of least importance, is that which, in many respects, coursed most directly into the life of the eldest

1. Vide supra p.12. On the occasion of her marriage in 1696, her four sisters disposed to her the wadset lands of Polcalk (PS, VI.13.15; 29 November 1711).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.; Deeds, Durie, 25 January 1710; and FES, iv.168 & v.264.

son of Laurence Cargill—that which was set in motion within the Bonytoun home by his own brother, James, and his sisters, Grissel, Jean and Anne.¹

(I) JAMES CARGILL IN BONYTOUN

James Cargill was born probably about 1630 or shortly before and appears several times in the records before 1650 as a witness to legal transactions.² He was married at Rattray on 20 April 1655³ to Katharine Ramsay, widow of Alexander Crockat in Alyth.⁴ As she was life-rentrix of her former husband's estate in Alyth,⁵ she and James appear to have lived there⁶ until his father's death in 1657, after which they moved to Bonytoun of Rattray.⁷

While the public records contain very little information

1. Vide supra p.26. n.2.

2. Vide, e.g., p. 72.

3. The marriage banns were proclaimed at Alyth on 30 March.

4. She was probably three or four years older than James (vide FCJC, 213.118) and, at the time of her second marriage, had a son, John, who was about ten years of age. He was afterwards known as Mr. John Crockat, writer in Edinburgh (in 1665, *Ibid.*, 213.124), and, at subsequent periods, was styled as living in Chapelton, Coupar-Angus, Arbroath and Montrose. (*Ibid.*, 213.118, 126). There is no indication that he is the same person as is mentioned in DPD, i.216 & ii.365, 450n, 461.

5. PS, 16 November 1654.

6. FCJC, 213.118. He is probably identical with the "James Cargill in Alith" mentioned in DPD, ii.356.

7. FCJC, 213.118-22. By permission of his elder brother, then minister of the Barony, he was granted tack of the Hillock of Bonytoun where his father had lived for some twenty years. James lived there from Whitsunday 1659 until Whitsunday of 1674. Only his first child was baptised at Alyth (1656); the others, whose baptisms are recorded, were baptised at Rattray (vide infra). The "James Cargill in Bonnington" mentioned in DPD, ii.360 is probably a reference to this James.

indicative of the stand taken by James relative to the conflict of his time, some idea of his personal inclinations may be had by viewing those with whom he was in frequent and close association. The following episode will provide an apt and not untypical illustration of those affinities.

Between October 1657 and February 1658 James brought an action against Patrick, Earl of Kinghorne, for payment of a bond which his father, also Patrick, had granted to Laurence Cargill.¹ While the action seems finally to have been settled out of court and following Laurence's death,² it is to be noted that James's procurator was Mr. Robert Lundie (younger brother of Mr. Thomas Lundie, non-conformist minister at Rattray³ and James's cousin) who was then a student of divinity at the New College, St. Andrews.⁴ Robert's non-conformist sympathies led him, however, to abandon his divinity studies at the Restoration. He later moved to Perth where, in 1679, he became Provost but, in company with several other members, was removed from the Town Council two years afterwards for refusing to take

-
1. Vide FCJC, 213.118-21. Patrick was only fifteen years of age at this time (The Book of Record ed. A.H. Millar, xi) and a student at St. Andrews University (Ibid., xv). Though he later became a vigorous royalist, his father (also Patrick) had been a renowned supporter of the Covenanting cause and had spent his fortune in helping to maintain its armies--toward the end, even, borrowing "immense sums" for this purpose (vide Lyon, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne by Ross Herald, p.53 and also Airlie Muniments, GD 16.25/14). The fact that Laurence Cargill had lent money to one thus engaged is an added indication of his own Covenanting sympathies.
 2. Unextracted Processes, Dalrymple, Carmichael and Elliott, 22 January & 23 February 1658.
 3. FCJC, 213.120.
 4. Unextracted Processes, loc.cit.

the Test.¹

In his later years, James encountered financial difficulties and eventually moved from Bonytoun to take wadset of a portion of his brother Donald's property at Haltoun of Rattray.² Following his brother's execution in 1681--and perhaps in natural consequence of it in view of the forfeiture of the family properties to the Crown and considering also the more powerful non-conformist movement in the west--he moved to Glasgow where he became a merchant³ and where he may have resided the remain-

-
1. DFD, ii.483 passim. In his Memorabilia of the City of Perth, William Morison discloses that there was a considerable pro-Covenanter sentiment on the part of the Perth Councillors between about 1680 and 1684 on account of the government's "violent prosecutions against those of the Presbyterian persuasion". The result was that toward the close of 1684 the Privy Council formed the Magistracy of Perth in addition to the Council "and every suspected person was disqualified. Several were cited before the Kirk-session for attending conventicles, and put in the hands of the civil magistrate, to be punished for recusancy" (vide pp.184-8). Mr. Robert Lundie married Catherine Reid whose mother and sister "were prosecuted for attending conventicles, and were denounced rebels" in 1682 (DFD, ii.479n). His brother-in-law, Mr. David Ranken, on the other hand, was a conformist minister at Rattray from September 1687 till after the Revolution. It was he against whom Thomas Whitson and others brought action in 1689 for not supporting the Settlement (Ibid., ii.479-82 and vide supra p.46).
 2. He was put to the horn in April 1680 for a debt to Hay of Balhoussie and, in March 1681, an arrestment was put on his lands on account of his brother Donald's debts to Charles Wilson, glover in Perth (FCJC, 213.136).
 3. The Edinburgh Register of Marriages, 31 March 1723, refers to his daughter, Jean, as "the daughter of the late James Cargill, merchant in Glasgow". In the Glasgow Commissariat, Record of Decrees (vol.37, 1695) there is a decret lodged against a "James Cargill for payment of L.152 Scots 'restand of the soume of L.332 Scots for certain wyne bought and received by the defender'" (vide FCJC, 213.136, 7).



der of his life.¹ Available evidence, however fragmentary, would unquestionably link him in sympathetic attachment to his brother, the Covenanter, and with others of like "Presbyterian persuasion".

James Cargill is known to have had six children. Five were born to him by Katharine Ramsay and it seems probable that his youngest was born of a second marriage. Only three of them, however, appear to have reached maturity--Laurence, Anne and Jean.²

LAURENCE was James Cargill's only surviving son.³ Having been born about 1657, he appears only three times in the public records up to 1683,⁴ about which time it is probable that he left Scotland for the North of England⁵ and at which time his father may well have gone to Glasgow. It was there probably that he married, as he later had a son and heir, Laurence,

-
1. It is possible that he may have returned to Rattray after the Revolution since a "James Cargyl in Rattray" is mentioned in 1698 as having, in company with a Walter Robertson, assisted the Presbyterian minister appointed by Dundee Presbytery to preach in Blairgowrie against the opposition of a "disaffected rable" who still supported Mr. Gilbert Blair, the deprived conformist minister of the parish (DPD, ii. 472,3). If this is the same James Cargill, then Mr. Blair was his first cousin once removed (vide supra p.37).
 2. Marjory, baptised 17 May 1656 (Alyth Parish Register); Laurence and Anne (no record, but probably born about 1657 and 1659 respectively); Donald and Grissel, baptised 18 May 1660 and 8 July 1661 respectively (RPR). For Jean no baptismal record has been found, due perhaps to her being born of a second marriage (FCJC, 213.138,9).
 3. A bond granted by James Cargill on 18 May 1673 was witnessed by "Laurence Cargill my onlie lawfull sone" (Deeds, Mackenzie, 23 November 1674; vide FC, F. Cargill to David C. Cargill, 21 February 1949).
 4. FCJC, 213.140.
 5. Ibid.

who became a woollen-draper in Blackburnslie [Barnsley,] Yorkshire.¹ The explanation of his removal to the North of England may rest in the fact that Donald Cargill, during the first three months of 1681, had taken refuge in that region² with religious sympathisers, and it is not improbable that Laurence was drawn by these people to the same place. If so, it may imply his personal assent to the religious position of his uncle.

Little is known of ANNE CARGILL except that she married Mr. John Smith³ who was appointed schoolmaster in Rattray in 1686.⁴ He resigned that post evidently at the Revolution, for he was appointed schoolmaster at Meigle on Whitsunday 1691.⁵ Anne died before 24 January 1699 leaving an only daughter, Isobel.⁶ John Smith afterward re-married.⁷ The religious implications of Anne's marriage are uncertain, though it would appear that both she and her husband followed a moderate trend.

There is little doubt that JEAN, James Cargill's youngest daughter was the child of a second marriage as she was only thirty-eight years of age at the time of her death in 1734.⁸ After her father's death she made her home in Edinburgh where she became a shop-keeper and, in 1723, married Patrick Cargill,

1. SSC, ii.202,3.

2. SSC, ii.17.

3. Deeds, Mackenzie, 10 July 1723.

4. DPD, ii.100.

5. Ibid. and also Dunkeld Commissariat, Register of Testaments, 2 October 1728.

6. Deeds, Mackenzie, loc.cit.

7. Dunkeld Commissariat, Edicts of Executry, 12 August 1727.

8. Canongate Register of Burials, 12 March. Thus James probably remarried in Glasgow in 1695 or before.

a cutler in the Canongate.¹ While not important as far as her religious influence is concerned, she is worthy of mention in view of the fact that two extant Cargill Family Bibles have been handed down through descendants of the cutler.²

(II) GRISSEL CARGILL (CROCKAT, PATULLO)

The family of Grissel Cargill, who was twice married, represents, in contrast, a conformist trend in religious influence. Born probably about 1631, she was first married in 1649 to DONALD CROCKAT of Morentie, parish of Alyth.³ His career began as a writer under Patrick Robertson of Littleton of Rattray who, as has been seen, seems to have harboured non-conformist views,⁴ but, after qualifying as a notary in 1636,⁵ he engaged himself for several years in the service of James Ogilvy, First Earl of Airlie--a dedicated royalist.⁶ Following his marriage to Grissel, however, he served as baron-

-
1. Patrick was born 25 December 1687 (Canongate Register of Baptisms). In the Canongate Churchyard there is a tombstone whose inscription begins: "In Memory of Patrick Cargill Hammerman Edinburgh born 1687 died 1750". Patrick's first wife was Isabel Fyfe and his third wife, Isobel Smith (MS, Notes of David C. Cargill). The marriage proclamation of Patrick and Jean Cargill is dated 30 March (Canongate Register of Marriages).
 2. Vide Appendix D.
 3. PS, 26 January 1649. He was probably about fifteen years her senior judging by the fact that he qualified as a notary in 1636 (vide supra p.13, n.3). He was designated "Donald Crockat of Morentie" (DPD, ii.202,6).
 4. FCJC, 213.180 and vide supra p.35.
 5. FCJC, loc.cit.
 6. Ibid. That is, from 1643 to 1649 (the year of his marriage). It is doubtless this "Donald Crockat" who is addressed in an undated business document that is preserved among the Airlie Muniments in the General Register House (GD 16.41/802). "For his [James Ogilvy's] attachment to the royalist cause during

bailie of Alyth¹ until his death early in the year 1658.² He was elected in 1650 an elder in the Alyth kirk session,³ and was probably the "Donald Croket" who was captured the following year along with the parish minister, "Mr. Johne Ratteraw", and the Committee of Estates by General Monk's Regiment of Horse and imprisoned in the Tower of London.⁴ In all probability he was released some ten months later with John Rattray who, according to the records, was back in Alyth in June 1652.⁵

Donald's marriage to Grissel, on the one hand, and his association with the Earl of Airlie, on the other hand, may indicate that he himself followed a comparatively moderate

the struggle between the court and the presbyterians, Charles I created him earl of Airlie by patent dated at York 2 April 1639...He went to court in April 1640 to avoid taking the covenant, but, returning to Scotland, was present in the covenanting parliament of 1643. In the following year he and his three sons joined Montrose; they were consequently forfeited by parliament on 11 Feb. 1645, exempted from pardon in the treaty of Westminster, and excommunicated by the kirk on 27 July 1647. But having obtained on 23 July 1646 an assurance and remission from Major-general Middleton... parliament was obliged, though unwillingly, to rescind his forfeiture on 17 March 1647. He did not afterwards take any active part in public affairs" (DNB, xiv.921,2). His "mock penitence" before the Alyth kirk session on 9 February 1651 secured the relaxation of the 1647 sentence of excommunication (The History of the Alyth Parish Church by James Meikle, pp.88,9).

1. Alyth Parish Register, 11 August 1650 & 10 December 1654.
2. Perthshire Hornings, 1 June 1677 and PS, V.5.127.
3. Alyth Parish Register, 11 August 1650. Vide also James Meikle, Op.Cit., p.79.
4. 28 August 1651. Vide A Diary of Public Transactions by John Nicoll (ed. David Laing), p.56 and James Meikle, Op.Cit., p.89.
5. James Meikle, Op.Cit., p.91.

course of action with respect to the issues then dividing the nation. While this may also be true of Grissel herself, it should be observed that, at Donald's premature death in 1658, James Cargill (brother of Grissel) and Mr. John Robertson (her first cousin by marriage) were made tutors to the four children--Grissel, Marjory, James and Margaret.¹ The non-conformist position of both has been previously indicated.

While the religious proclivities of Grissel's daughters are generally obscure,² the role of James is amply recorded. After completing his university and divinity training at St. Andrews, he was licensed by the St. Andrews Presbytery in 1678. For several years he preached at Meigle as "assistant to the Bishop",³ and after 1683 served in the parish of Caputh. In 1701 he was deprived by the Privy Council as a non-jurant minister, but in spite of this he continued on at Meigle with his own "meeting house" and proved "a great hinderance and discouragement to the regular minister".⁴ He subsequently became an Episcopalian minister at Fullarton, parish of Meigle.⁵ It is to be noted that his preparation for, and early service

1. FCJC, 213.180,1.

2. It is doubtful that Grissel lived to adulthood (*Ibid.*, 213.181). Marjory was born at Alyth on 4 February 1652 and married James Ogilvy in 1677 (PS, VI.1.127). He was a merchant in Alyth (Dunkeld Commissariat, Extracted Processes, 16883 and 1691) until the Revolution after which he became baron-bailie of Alyth (RPR, 28 April 1689 & 2 March 1705). From this it might be inferred that he was of non-conformist persuasion. Insufficient is known of Margaret to determine the direction of her influence (FCJC, 213.184).

3. DPD, ii.203. The Bishop was Dr. Andrew Bruce who was designated to the See of Dunkeld following the death of Mr. William Lindsay in April 1679 (*Ibid.*, i.209,19).

4. DPD, ii.202-5 *passim*.

5. Alyth Parish Register, 29 April 1716 and PS, 25 November 1729.

in, the ministry coincided with the years of severest Covenant-er persecution, during which his uncle, Donald Cargill, was most actively engaged in his anti-Erastian field-preaching.

In 1660, two years after the death of Donald Crockat, Grissel Cargill married JOHN PATULLIO, a notary public, who for three years previous to his marriage had been associated with Patrick Robertson of Littleton of Rattray.¹ Following his marriage John moved to Morentie as Grissel had been made life-rentrix of her former husband's estate.² In due course he became baron-bailie of Alyth³ in succession to Donald Crockat and it appears likely that he continued in that office until his death sometime before 1675.⁴ As John's career was similar in many respects to that of Donald, it is probable that he too could be classified as a religious moderate,⁵ though his son, John, after the manner of his older step-brother manifests a pronounced conformist outlook.⁶ Born probably about 1662, John became in 1680 a writer to James Ramsay, Clerk of the

-
1. The marriage banns were proclaimed on 20 May preceding in both Alyth and Rattray (vide kirk session registers). Concerning John Patullo's association with Patrick Robertson, vide PS, V.4.297. It was in Patrick's office that Donald Crockat had begun as a writer.
 2. FCJC, 213.187.
 3. BC, no.269.
 4. Dunkeld Commissariat, Register of Testaments, William Gray of Drumellie, 16 February 1691.
 5. John's older brother, Robert of Kinnochtry, married Katharine Blair, a daughter of James Blair of Ardblair (brother-in-law of Laurence Cargill), and Grissel's first cousin (DB, 191; PS, V4.209; and vide supra p.35, n.3). It should be observed that Katharine's sister, Isabel, married Mr. John Robertson, son of Patrick of Littleton, and a notable non-conformist.
 6. He had two children, John, Jr. and Katharine (FCJC, 213). 191). Katharine's religious connections are not apparent.

Regality of Kirriemuir.¹ Between June and October 1681 (during which time his uncle, Donald Cargill, was executed), he became a writer in Edinburgh where he remained for about six years.² In 1687 John, Bishop of Dunkeld, appointed him Commissary Clerk of Dunkeld for life.³ His general position of conformity was doubtless strengthened by his marriage to his second cousin, Jean Blair, a younger daughter of George Blair of Glascune⁴ and therefore a grand-daughter of Janet Cargill. With this marriage the wheel had, in a sense, turned full circle for, just as the children of Janet represent the most uniform trend towards conformity within the family of the Vicar, so the two sons of Grissel (and perhaps their sisters) most markedly represent that trend within the family of Laurence. Within the general frame-work of the Cargill family, the forces of division were clearly present. Among his younger sisters and their families, however, Donald Cargill must have found a more congenial and sympathetic spirit.

(III) JEAN CARGILL (YEAMAN)

Jean Cargill, probably the second daughter of Laurence, was married in Alyth in August of 1658 to James Yeaman, son of David

1. Ibid.

2. PS, VI.10.211.

3. DPD, i.323n & ii.446. After the Revolution, however, on 4 December 1690, he granted a commission to William Fife, writer in Dunkeld, to sit as his deputy in the commissary clerkship of Dunkeld and to draw the emoluments of that office (FCJC, 213.191,2). Vide also DPD, ii.191 where the reference is probably to the same person.

4. DB, 193; PS, 4 May 1732; and vide supra p.44.

Yeaman of Easter Walkmiln of Rattray.¹ Following their marriage they made their home in Rattray.² Though no indication has been found as to his employment there, the parish register reveals that he was admitted to eldership in the kirk in March of 1666.³ Three children were born to him and Jean Cargill--Patrick, Marjory and James.⁴ Patrick and James merit brief consideration in this context.

PATRICK YEAMAN, their eldest child, was born toward the end of the year 1662, just after Middleton's "Edict of Eviction" had gone into effect. He was baptised in Bendochy parish on 19 November by the minister, Mr. Robert Malcolm,⁵ since, at Rattray, Mr. Thomas Lundie (Jean's cousin by marriage⁶) was

-
1. 5 August (Alyth Parish Register). The banns were proclaimed on 20 June. The fact that she was married in Alyth may have been due to her father's death toward the end of the previous year. It is possible that she had left Wester Banchrie to stay with her sister, Grissel, whose (first) husband had died early in 1658 (vide FCJC, 213.196). Jean was probably born about 1636.
 2. James and Jean were granted a charter of Easter Walkmiln of Rattray and a sixth part of the Mains of Rattray on 16 July 1658, which would have been just previous to their marriage (PS, 10 August 1658), though her parents reserved to themselves a life-rent of the property. James and Jean received sasine of it on 14 May 1670 (PS, 29 June 1670).
 3. DPD, ii.84.
 4. FCJC, 213.198. Of Marjory, little of value for this study is known.
 5. Bendochy Parish Register. Robert Malcolm, who died only a few months after this, apparently acquiesced in Episcopacy (FES, v.253) as did both his sons, William and Henry (DPD, ii.271-3 & 448-56).
 6. Vide supra pp.35,6.

among those who refused to conform to the new Act.¹ In 1680 Patrick became a writer to Thomas Whitson, his second cousin by marriage and, as has been seen, an intimate friend of Donald Cargill.² In about October 1681 he succeeded his cousin, John Patullo, as writer to James Ramsay, Clerk of the Regality of Kirriemuir, with whom he was associated for some three years.³ Sometime later he qualified as a notary public and pursued this profession in Rattray until his death in 1732. He served also as an elder of the Rattray parish kirk.⁴ Although twice-married, he had no children.⁵ It seems probable that he followed a moderate course of religious practice.

JAMES YEAMAN was born probably about 1666.⁶ He served his apprenticeship in the merchant trade in Dundee under his uncle-in-law, Thomas Paterson⁷ (infra), where he married Agnes Crichton in 1692.⁸ He later became a merchant and burgess of Dundee, a town councillor in 1698, hospital master in 1703, thesaurer in 1708, and was a bailie in 1709, 1718 and 1724.⁹ He died in

-
1. FES, iv.171. Mr. Lundie, however, refused to leave his parish and was "summoned before the Privy Council, 24th March 1663, for not obeying its Act of 1st Oct. 1662, and 'still labouring to keep the hearts of the people from the present government of Church and State'". It was not until October 1664 that he was deposed by the Bishop of Dunkeld.
 2. Vide supra p.46.
 3. FCJC, 213.198,9.
 4. Vide Deeds, Mackenzie, 21 July 1691 and RPR, 24 September 1724.
 5. FCJC, 213.200.
 6. Deeds, Durie, 14 November 1732.
 7. Forfarshire Sasines, 5 July 1694.
 8. FCJC, 213.203.
 9. Ibid.

Dundee in 1745.¹ Though he could have had little personal contact with Donald Cargill, it is probable from his connection with Thomas Paterson and his public services after the Revolution that he was linked with the non-conformist tradition. It was his son, George,² who, in 1740, bought the Estate of Haltoun of Rattray from Laurence Cargill, great grandson of James Cargill.³

(IV) ANNE CARGILL (PATERSON)

The name of Anne Cargill is known only from its inclusion in two genealogical inscriptions in the Donald Cargill Bible, St. Andrews University Library.⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that it has not yet been discovered in any of the public records, the corroborative evidence derived from them removes all doubt as to the essential accuracy of these inscriptions. Two minor errors in them, however, must be observed. Anne was not the "oldest sister" of Donald Cargill. On the contrary, it appears probable that she was the youngest of the family--born, perhaps, about 1640, or even later.⁵ Again she was not married to a 'James Paterson, Dundee' but to a Thomas Paterson

1. Brechin Commissariat, Register of Testaments, George McCrook, 12 November 1777 and Deeds, Durie, 24 February 1748.

2. One of ten children (vide FCJC, 213, 203).

3. Vide supra p.52.

4. Vide Appendix D.

5. There is record evidence that Grissel Cargill was the eldest daughter of Laurence (vide DPD, ii.202). That Anne was probably the youngest is implied by the fact that Jean was married in 1658 and her three children were born between 1662 and 1666, whereas the baptism of Anne's "only lawfull child", James (Brechin Commissariat, Register of Testaments, 23 February 1709), evidently took place in 1678 (DPD, ii.443n, vide infra). That he was not born earlier is further implied by his marriage on 26 October 1709 to Katharine Lyon

who appears frequently in the records as a merchant in Dundee, and whose "only lawfull child" was named James.¹ In all probability it was he who was reported to the Presbytery of Dundee

(Bendochy and Dundee parish registers) who was born on 17 October 1686 (The Lyons of Cossins and Wester Ogil by Andrew Ross, p.63). James makes his initial appearance in the records in 1696 and is styled "James Paterson, lawful son to Thomas Paterson, merchant in Dundee" (Forfarshire Sasines, 24 March 1696; vide also Deeds, Mackenzie, 26 April 1697). "As merchants' sons usually make their first appearance in the records at the age of 18 or 20, it is improbable that he was born before 1676 or 1678" (FCJC, 213.216).

1. He is erroneously listed as 'James Paterson' in both the inscriptions. The public records show that the father of the 'James Paterson' who married Katharine Lyon was 'Thomas Paterson'. While Anne's name does not occur in these records, her marriage to Thomas, as attested in the inscriptions, is corroborated by the frequent association in them of the Paterson and Cargill families: - (1) In legal transactions. On 30 April 1682, for example, Mr. Patrick Robertson of Littleton of Rattray, as principal, and Mr. John Crockat of Easter Rattray, as cautioner, granted a bond to Thomas Paterson, merchant and burgess in Dundee...in the presence of James Cargill in Haltoun and Laurence Cargill, his son, and David Birkett in Kirkton of Rattray (Deeds, Dalrymple, 16 March 1683). An interesting entry is found in the year 1697 relating to an action raised by Thomas Paterson before the Lords of Council and Session against Patrick Johnstone of Gormack and Thomas Whitson in Rattray to have them deliver up to him "ane band granted to the deceast Master Donald Cargill of Haltoun of Rattray to the said perseuer for the principal soume of Fyve hundreth and fiftie merkis Scots money, with annual rent" etc. After considerable litigation, Thomas Paterson won the case but never managed to collect all the money (vide FCJC, 213.209-15). (2) As witnesses to, and name-sakes of, the baptisms of the eight children of James Paterson and Katharine Lyon. On 5 March 1715, for example, they had a daughter baptised called Anne. Her "name-mothers" were: Anne Lundie, spouse to Robert Ker of Labothie; Anna Drummond, spouse to Mr. James Gray, minister at Kinloch; and Anne Whitson, spouse to Patrick Stewart (Dundee Parish Register). The child, therefore, was named after James Paterson's mother, Anne Cargill, grand-daughter of the Vicar; Anne Lundie, daughter of Mr. Thomas Lundie, minister of Rattray, and great grand-niece of the Vicar; Anna Drummond, the fourth daughter of Patrick Drummond of Polcalk and great grand-daughter of the Vicar; and Anne Whitson, fourth daughter of Thomas Whitson and great grand-daughter of the Vicar. A further corroborating evidence is

of Dundee in June of 1678 as being a separatist and as having, in company with certain others, "purchased disorderlie Baptisim to ther children".¹ If so, it would indicate that the eldest and youngest of Laurence Cargill's children were linked in common cause, and would explain why it was she, among her sisters, who received from Donald's hand at the scaffold "his last best friend" and "last sad legacy".

Thomas Paterson appears to have died about January of 1709, having been pre-deceased by Anne Cargill.² His son, James, also became a merchant in Dundee where he had a shop in the Overgate.³ Of the eight children born to him (James) and Katharine Lyon, his wife, it was through the line of Agnes that the Cargill Bible was preserved.⁴

to be found in the letters "A.C." (Anne Cargill) and "K.L." (Katharine Lyon) which are engraved on the silver clasps on the cover of the Bible, indicating that James Paterson presented it as a gift to his wife, Katharine.

1. DPD, ii.443n. There is, however, "any amount of record evidence that from that date to the Revolution he continued to trade in Dundee, [so] he must afterwards have attended his parish church, or he would not have been allowed to stop in Dundee" (FCJC, 213.209; Deeds, Dalrymple, 2 August 1687 & 19 November 1705; and vide Robert Wodrow, in his History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, who states that, according to "some attested accounts from the town of Dundee...from the year 1680, to the year 1687... no family was permitted to live in that town, but such as constantly heard the episcopal ministers").
2. Brechin Commissariat, Edicts, 28 January & 12 February 1709. In his Testament Dative and Inventory given up by James, his son, the property "is divided into two parts" proving that there was no widow's terce and that, therefore, his wife, Anne Cargill, had pre-deceased him (FCJC, 213.216).
3. Deeds, Mackenzie, 17 November 1699; Forfarshire Sasines, 4 March 1700; Deeds, Durie, 21 June 1714 & 20 February 1730.
4. FCJC, 213.217-22.

Conclusion.

In the experience of Donald Cargill, the influence of home epitomised that of the nation. From an ecclesiastical standpoint, both were houses divided against themselves and his entire life was lived within the framework of both.

The causes of division within his own home are doubtless several. Inter-marriage between members of the two factions has been seen as a prime determinant, the position of the husband usually determining the direction followed. There were strong pro- and anti-royalist feelings, some traditional, some of later emergence. There were economic sanctions imposed by the party in power at various given times. But even behind these were yet more ultimate factors, and more intangible. There was the individual's understanding of, and attitude toward, the authority and teaching of the Bible on ecclesiastical matters, and there was the vitality of his personal faith in the Christian verities, or the absence of such faith. To the extent to which these can be measured, largely to the same extent can the divisions of Donald's home--and his own position--be explained. Before looking more closely at the latter, however, the influence of his early schooling must be considered.

CHAPTER III

B. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

II. SCHOOL

(A) ABERDEEN

(I) Parish School

(II) Grammar School

a. Financial Means

b. Family Connections

c. Academic Repute

(III) Covenanting Influences

a. Ministry

b. Citizenry

(IV) Conclusion

B. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

II. SCHOOL

(A) ABERDEEN

In the sketch preceding, the Cargill home was delineated as having been a replica in miniature of the nation at large. Ecclesiastically, the conflict that divided the nation was the conflict that divided his home, making it a truly national setting into which Donald Cargill was born and reared. The influences of his home, therefore, were essentially those of the nation and thus when he was ready to emerge from the confines of the one and step into the broader reaches of the other through the corridors of school and college, it was not a step into a wholly new or different world of influence. Unquestionably it was more extensive, more impersonal, more complex but, nevertheless, one that was essentially the same. In the midst of new surroundings, a new force and effect would have been imparted to the former lines of influence. He would have sat at the feet of new exponents of the issues at variance, he would have moved in an environment geared more particularly to academic objectivity, and he would have risen to maturity amid the heterogeneity of the class-room constituency and, no less, of the different geographical clime in which it had its setting. The shift of scene, therefore, from home to academic and new social circles contributed in important and distinctive measure to the course and character of his later calling.

The marked paucity of data contributed by Donald Cargill's biographers with respect to his years of formal education is

reminiscent of the dearth of detail in their narratives relative to his parentage and birth--for which reason, doubtless, none has ascribed due place to the importance of these years in giving direction to his career. The earliest, surviving, authoritative record of this aspect of his life and the one, in fact, upon which all subsequent historians have based their accounts,¹ is that to be found in A Cloud of Witnesses,² where it is stated that he

received his early education in Aberdeen [after which]... he went to the University of St Andrews, where he passed through the regular curriculum.

This skeletal summary, then, of a large and highly important segment of his life--so demonstrably accurate (as will be seen) with respect to his St. Andrews education and, in the absence of any valid evidence to the contrary, so circumstantially probable (as will also be seen) with respect to his Aberdeen schooling--must still be treated as a reliable statement of fact as regards the student days of Donald Cargill. With it as the basis, a more penetrating investigation may properly be commenced.

(I) Parish School

One problem pertaining to the passage cited above is the conspicuous absence of any mention of a place occupied by the Rattray Parish School in the early educational curriculum of

-
1. With the single exception of Patrick Walker (1732) who, in strange and unexplained fashion, departs from attested historical tradition (vide infra).
 2. (J.H. Thomson ed.), p.1.

Cargill. The anonymous historian appears to indicate that the first elements of that education were received elsewhere than at Rattray although there is virtually no question but that the school was in existence in the time of his youth. The Rattray Parish Register discloses that as early as November 1614 a "Mr David Crychtoune" was called from the position of schoolmaster at Eassie to serve in that capacity at Rattray with the guarantee of a year's stipend of "the soume of fourtie poundes mo[n]ie", with the minister of Rattray, Mr. Silvester Rattray, and Donald Cargill, Vicar, contributing five merks each.¹ In 1639, or very shortly after Donald's parish school age, a Mr. James Rattray was the Rattray parish schoolmaster.² The total absence of any kirk session or separate parish

-
1. "The quhilk day [6th] it is aggreit betwix Mr James Rattray of Logy and Agnes Laurie Ladie Craighall on ye ane p[ar]t and Mr David Crychtoune scholem^r in Eassie on ye other p[ar]t To wit ye said Mr David sall God willing enter at ye tyme of Martimas next to cum and tak vp ane schole in yis toune and instruct the young of yis parochie as becomes for ye space of ane yeir yrefter for the qlk caus ye said Mr James and Agnes ilk ane for yair awne parts sal susteine honestlie as becomes ye said Mr David in bed and buird during ye said space As also to c[on]tent and pay to him the soume of fourtie poundes m[on]ie And yen have ye pay[men]t of the bearnes yof ye parochie to help pay ye soume with Lyk as Mr Silvester Rattray of Persie and Donald Cargill vicar of Rattray all content and pay equallie betwix yam ye soume of ten m[er]k[s] to ye said Mr James and Agnes to help pay ye fourtie poundes Consentis yer p[rese]nts be extendid with all clausis necessar."
 2. PS, 28 February 1639 (vide DPD, ii.99). In 1665 John Chrystie "was unanimouslie received schoolmaster and clark to the Sessione" (RPR, 20 & 27 August 1665; vide DPD, loc.cit.). He was also formerly of Eassie. Neill Forrester was appointed schoolmaster in 1670 and Mr. John Smith in Craighall, husband of Anne Cargill (vide supra p.53), in 1686 (vide DPD, ii.100).

school¹ records for this period merely accentuates the difficulty of explaining the enigma of Donald's apparently not having attended the local parish school.² It is possible, of course, that the explanation may lie simply in Laurence's having determined early to send his son to the Aberdeen Grammar School--a logical pre-requisite of which would have been a preparatory course of instruction in one of the parish schools there rather than at Rattray. At any rate, John Howie asserts that "after he [Donald] had been some time in the schools [sic] of Aberdeen, he went to St. Andrews".³

-
1. "I have no records in the School which go as far back as that period and there are no Records in the District Parish Office" (P6, Mr. George Millar, Headmaster, Rattray Public School, to author, 5 June 1953).
 2. J.M. Dryerre could have possessed no factual evidence for asserting that "after attending a school at Rattray, he went to Aberdeen" (Heroes and Heroines of the Scottish Covenanters, p.56).
 3. The Scots Worthies, W.H. Carslaw ed., p.439. The Town Council minutes reveal that, throughout the 17th century, elementary education received strong emphasis in Aberdeen. As early as 1605 there were "two Inglis schoollis, teichit be the twa reidaris" (BR, p.39), and in 1627 a committee composed of councillors and ministers of the burgh were appointed to visit "alsweill the grammer schole, as the Musick and English scooles" (p.58). These schools are again referred to in 1639 (p.66) and 1658 (p.78), and in 1700 the "masters of the English School" were made subject to new regulations (p.168). In 1710 it was stated that children, before entering the grammar school, should "be taught to read English perfectly, and to write weell, and somewhat of arithmetick and musick" (p.92). Notwithstanding the plurality of elementary schools in Aberdeen during this period, however, the possibility cannot be outruled that Howie was using the word "schools" in the sense of "school"--a usage commonly occurring in the early records. H.F.M. Simpson states that "the expression 'Schools'...appears to denote 'classes,' and in this sense survives in the Oxford 'Schools'" (vide BR, pp.3,5n). Vide also a reference to "the New Colledge Schooles [St. Andrews]" on 13 January 1648 in SMP, p.38.

It has been observed that, with the notable exception of Patrick Walker, the principal biographers¹ of Donald Cargill have adhered to the tradition as set forth initially in A Cloud of Witnesses that he "received his early education in Aberdeen" before entering the University of St. Andrews. Patrick Walker's contrary affirmation that "after he had passed his courses of learning at Aberdeen, he was established minister in the Barony parish of Glasgow"² is indeed strange if, as appears probable, his reference is to Donald's philosophy or divinity, rather than to his grammar school, training; and the more so in view of the fact that he would doubtless have had before him the account in A Cloud of Witnesses which had first been published eighteen years earlier. It is therefore possible that "Aberdeen" was a misprint for "St. Andrews" or that Patrick had simply been mis-informed by the Cargill family descendants, thus discarding the demonstrably correct version.³ Whichever explanation be accepted, the general weight of tradition is unquestionably on the side of Donald's having received, at the least, his grammar school education in Aberdeen.

(II) Grammar School.

While there is no direct proof of Cargill's attendance at the Aberdeen Grammar School either in its official records or

1. Vide John Howie, Biographia Scoticana (1775 edition); G.M. Bell, The Scottish Martyr (1837); Jean L. Watson (1880); W.H. Carlsaw, Life and Times of Donald Cargill (Heroes of the Covenant) (1900); and A.B. Todd, Covenanting Pilgrimages and Studies (1911).

2. SSC, II.3.

3. Vide FCJC, 213.58,9.

in those of the town,¹ there is a considerable mass of indirect evidence which provides convincing corroboration of the traditional account. To the examination of this evidence attention must next be directed.

a. Financial Means

The initial attempt to lend practical credibility to Donald's Aberdeen schooling appears to have been made by Jean L. Watson in 1880.² Reasoning from the premise that his father was "laird of the property of Hutton [sic]", she concluded that he must, therefore, be regarded as "a man of means, and able to send Donald to schools in Aberdeen, and afterwards to the University of St. Andrews". While it has been shown that Laurence Cargill was never laird of the Hatton estate,³ it is clear that he was, nevertheless, a man of some means principally by reason of his profession so that, from the standpoint of financial capability, an Aberdeen education for his eldest son would appear to have been altogether practicable.

b. Family Connections

About 1900 the reasonableness of the Aberdeen tradition

-
1. J.J. Robertson, former rector of the Aberdeen Grammar School, states that "no Grammar School rolls of so early a date [1635-45] have survived--nothing before about 1695" (PC Frank Scorgie, Director of Education, Aberdeen, to author, 24 April 1953). W. Douglas Simpson, Librarian, University of Aberdeen, adds that "there does not seem to be any further information about the Grammar School in the beginning of the 17th Century, other than what is printed in my father's book." [Bon Record] (PC, W. Douglas Simpson to author, 13 May 1953). And Louise B. Taylor writes that "in the records I am dealing with [Aberdeen Council Letters, vols.1-4] Wedderburn [David, master of the School, 1602-40] alone is mentioned, and then only in connection with his Grammer and the expense of printing it" (PC, Louise B. Turner [sic] to author 18 May 1953).
 2. Life of Donald Cargill, p.12.
 3. Vide supra p.15 and Appendix B.

was further re-inforced by W.H. Carslaw¹ who amplified the suggestion of Jean Watson by proposing that

for family or personal reasons Aberdeen may have had attractions for the young student, which his father's position enabled him to enjoy without difficulty.

While Carslaw was by his own admission proceeding along purely conjectural lines, his suggestion that "family and personal reasons" may have drawn Donald to Aberdeen is not without considerable merit, for the fact is that he did have at least one close family tie with that city.

It was stated in the chapter preceding² that, according to Robert Douglas, Marjory Blair (Donald's mother) had a brother, Patrick, whose son of the same name became a merchant in Aberdeen. The accuracy of Douglas's account is confirmed by a money bond which was granted at Aberdeen in 1649 by "Patrick Blair merd burges of Aberdein" to his uncle, James Blair of Ardblair, and which was witnessed by "Laurence Cargill off Bonitoun and James Cargill his law[ful]l sone"³ The residence

1. Life and Times of Donald Cargill.

2. Vide supra p. 37.

3. "Att Edinburgh 10 Aprile 1668. In pnes of the Lords of Councill and Sessione compeired Mr Johne Andersone advocat as prore for Patrick Blair afterdesigned and gavo in the obligatne underwritne subs with his hand groff the tennor followes I Patrick Blair merd burges of Aberdein grants me to be restand owand to James Blair of Ardblair all and hale the somme of elivin hundred merkes scots money qlk somme I the sd Patrick faithfullie bind and obleisses me to imploy the samyn at my merd trade and calling as I doe my owne stock and lykeweyes obleisses me to compt and reckone with the sd James once everie yeir or when it shall be required aither for the profite it shall produce or for the loss it shall suffer and lykeweyes give the sd James be pleased to require the haill somme of elivin hunderd merks forsd I the sd Patrick Blair faithfullie binde and obleisses me my aires exers and intrors with my goods and geir qtsoiv^r to refund the samyn within six weeks after the samyn shall

of an older cousin of Donald Cargill in Aberdeen at this period and the close contact maintained between Patrick and the Ratt-ray members of his family (as evident from the bond), suggests that young Donald could have been accorded the hospitality of his cousin's home during his years of study there. It is also possible that that home may have been the one described in 1640 as "Patrick Blairs hous without the Justice port on the angle a great hous of old belonging to John Laing".¹

be required with all that it can produce as is mentionat forsd and for the mair securitie I am content thir pntts be insert and registrat in the bookes of Councill and Sessione comissarie or tounes bookes off Aberdein to have the strenth of ane confest act and judicial decreet off the Lords may pass upon ane single charge off six dayes and for yt effect constitut Mr John Andersone advocat my lawll prore promittens de rato In witness groff these pnts are written and subt by the sd Patrick Blair at Aberdein the first day of Februaire j^mvi^o. fortie nyne yeirs before thir witnesses Laurence Cargill off Bonitoun and James Cargill his lawll sone sic subr. Pa: Blair L. Cargill witnes Ja: Cargill witnes" (Deeds, Durie, 17.741 and vide FCJC, 213.117).

1. Vide FAMA, ii.244 where he is listed among those owing rent to the stipend of the third regent of Marischal College. The Justice Port was located on the eastern side of the city, the Grammar School on the western (vide a 17th century map and description in Abredoniae Vtrivsque Descriptio by J.G. Parson, pp.xxviii,10,⁵ and in G.M. Fraser's Aberdeen Street Names, pp.24-30). Concerning Patrick Blair vide MNSC, ii.390 where reference is made to his admission as Guild Burgess on 3 July 1644, and also Appendix E. It should be noted in this connection that on 16 September 1642 a Major Patrick Blair, and on 9 September 1646 a Lieut. Col. Patrick Blair, were admitted Honorary Burgesses (MNSC, ii.388, 92). J.C. Rennie, Town Clerk of Aberdeen, writes concerning them: "These names appear along with other army men who were visitors to the town and might have been quartered there for a time. It is unlikely that the entries relate to the same person as burgesses were presumably not admitted twice" (PC, J.C. Rennie to author, 23 January 1962). The identity of the former has not been traced, but the latter is undoubtedly the royalist son of

In addition to Donald's link with Aberdeen on his mother's side, there were family connections--though evidently not as close--on his father's side as well. A large branch of the Cargill family (doubtless a collateral of the Perthshire line by virtue of a probable common descent from Bernard de Kergylle of Lasington)¹ had settled in Aberdeenshire and some in Aberdeen itself. Among those families which had become established in Aberdeen,² one--that of Thomas Cargill,

Janet Cargill (vide supra p.44 and ACL, iii.89) and, therefore, Donald Cargill's first cousin. At this date, however, Donald would have been in attendance at St. Andrews University.

1. Vide Appendix A. This is suggested by the fact that the earliest known ancestor of the Aberdeen branch was also a Bernard de Kergylle who, in 1368, witnessed in Roxburghshire a land transaction of the Earl of Mar (Liber Sancte Marie de Melros, no.468) and, in 1374, had his charter confirmed to the lands of Culmelly and Ald Culmelly, Sheriffdom of Aberdeen (vide The Surnames of Scotland by G.F. Black, p.134). It is quite likely, therefore, that not only was this Bernard a brother of the "Willelmi de Kergylle" who, in 1370 and 1372, obtained charters to the lands of Breynbayn and Balharry, Perthshire (vide Appendix A), but that he was also the father of the "William de Kergill of Segedene" who appears in the records in 1401 (Aberdeen Friars ed. P.J. Anderson, p.23). After a gap of nearly a century, a "Master Bernard Cargill, Vicar of Banff" is mentioned in the records in 1497, following which there are frequent references to him until 1542 (vide G.F. Black, Op.Cit. and Fasti Aberdonenses [ed. Cosmo Innes], no.78, and also Early Records of the University of Saint Andrews, ed. J.M. Anderson, 1926, p.185 where a "Bernardus Cargil" matriculated at the University of St. Andrews in 1487--a reference perhaps to the same individual). From the similarity of names, locality and circumstances, it would seem that he was a descendant--perhaps a great grandson--of Bernard of Culmelly (vide PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill, 15 October 1945).
2. Several would appear to be represented among those listed in the Aberdeen Burgess Rolls (vide MNSC, vols.1 & 2).

merchant¹--had attained to a particular eminence. His eldest son, DAVID, was in 1578 and 1605 "maister of Sanct Thomas Hospitale" and of the "hospitall betuixt the townis",² elder in St. Nicholas Church,³ admitted a Burgess of Guild and Trade in 1578,⁴ twelve times Dean of Guild between 1595 and 1620,⁵ served at various times as "watter baillie",⁶ "thesaurar",⁷ and "maister of wark"⁸ in the city, and died shortly before 1622.⁹ The second son of Thomas, MR. JAMES CARGILL, M.D.,

-
1. Vide Ibid., i.73; probably the same Thomas who was admitted burgess in 1553 (Ibid., i.64). He is recorded "Mercatore Abredonensi" in FAMA, i.149. Vide also The Book of Bon-Accord [by Joseph Robertson], p.170.
 2. Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen ed. John Stuart, pp.23,45.
 3. Ibid., pp.48,92.
 4. MNSC, i.73.
 5. List of the Deans of Guild of Aberdeen (1436-1875) [ed. A. Walker], pp.36-43.
 6. ECRA-S, ii.77.
 7. Ibid., pp.81,115.
 8. Fasti Aberdonenses [ed. Cosmo Innes], p.277.
 9. Vide Mortifications under the Charge of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Aberdeen, pp.58,9. His eldest son, Thomas, was admitted Burgess of Guild and Trade in 1619 (MNSC, i.122) and, up until 1627, made frequent appearances before the Town Council (e.g., ECRA-S, ii.370, 9,84,95; ECRA-B, i.7,11,5; and FAMA, i.182-4). After this his name disappears from the Council records as he seems to have taken up residence in London, but continuing to handle business affairs for the town of Aberdeen (FAMA, i.175,6, 235). He refers to himself in one letter to the Council as "I Thomas Cargill gentleman at London" (ACL, ii.no.54 and vide also Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire ed. David Littlejohn, ii.469). Thomas was dead on 11 October 1643 at which time his eldest son, Thomas, was admitted burgess in Aberdeen (MNSC, ii.389). He styled himself "Thomas Cargill of Auchtidonald". The records indicate that he died before 8 January 1662 at which time his son, also Thomas, was served heir to him (The Valuation of the County of Aberdeen for the Year 1667 ed. Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, p.208).

is recorded as having been one of the foremost botanists and anatomists of his day and of no little skill in philosophy.¹ At his death in 1614² he bequeathed

four thousand merkis for the behuiff of four bursars [at the New College] fyve hundreth merkis to the said [New Aberdeen] grammer schoole fyve hundreth merkis to the said [New Aberdeen] hospitall and thrie hundreth merkis to the behuiff of the poore householders that ressaues quarterlie almes out of the Sessioun.³

Part of the money thus bequeathed to the Grammar School was utilised in 1623 to pay for extensive repairs to the building but in subsequent years it was largely "frittered away" along with that received from a number of other similar bequests.⁴ The other son of Thomas who played an important role in the affairs of Aberdeen was MR. THOMAS CARGILL who was for over twenty years Master of the Grammar School. His appointment was made toward the close of 1580⁵ and in the years that followed he became "a preceptor of considerable celebrity".⁶ On

1. Vide DNB, iii.989.

2. 20 September Vide Sum Notabill Thinges Excerptit frome the Auld Recordes of the Honorabill Citie of Aberdeene (1565-1635), ed. Joseph Robertson p.23 and FAMA, i.149-53. The date of his death is erroneously given as 1615 in Bibliographia Aberdonensis (ed. J.F.K. Johnstone & A.W. Robertson, i.98) and as 1616 by Dr. J.K. Cameron in his recent Letters of John Johnstone and Robert Howie (pp.xiv,113 & 309; vide also his "James Cargill (c.1565-1616)" in The Aberdeen University Review, 38 (1959), No. 121, pp.148-51).

3. FAMA, i.151. Vide also BR, p.50.

4. Ibid., p.56 passim.

5. Ibid., pp.21,2n.

6. Joseph Robertson ed., Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, p.60.

two occasions he was given public recognition and due remuneration for his Latin compositions commemorating the "erecking" of the New College in 1593¹ and the "delyuerie" of James VI "fra the lait conspiracie attemptit aganis his hienes persoun, be umquhill the Erll of Gowrie".² In 1597 he was admitted a Burgess of Guild and Trade.³ Two of his sons, William (eldest) and Thomas, were similarly admitted in 1622 and 1637 respectively.⁴ A daughter of Thomas, merchant (supra), JANET CARGILL, married Thomas Forbes, a burgess of Aberdeen. It was their son, William, who was consecrated first Bishop of Edinburgh less than three months before his premature death in April 1634.⁵

Notwithstanding the fact, however, that the Cargill family line was numerous--and prominently--represented in Aberdeen and its environs, there appears to be no recorded evidence of an immediate link between them and Donald. Furthermore, if he had been closely related to this family, he would have been eligible for a Cargill bursary to attend the New College⁶ but,

1. BR, p.26 and vide FAMA, i.81-4.

2. BR, pp.27,8. The former of these along with a number of his other works are preserved among the Drummond of Hawthornden MSS. in the library of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Joseph Robertson ed., *Op.Cit.*, p.60n). Vide also *Musa Latina Aberdonensis* ed. W.K. Leask, iii. 27-35.

3. MNSC, i.92.

4. William, who matriculated at Marischal College in 1616, was one of the first holders of the bursary given by his uncle, Dr. James Cargill; he graduated in 1619 and was admitted a Burgess of Guild and Trade in 1622 (FAMA, i.152,3; ii.195 & n.196,8; MNSC, i.130; and ECRA-S, ii.374). Thomas was admitted Burgess of Guild and Trade in 1628 (MNSC, i.148) and Guild Burgess in 1637 (*Ibid.*, ii.380).

5. Vide DNB, vii.411,2; *Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections* ed. Robert Lippe, pp.255-67; and *History of Scots Affairs* by James Gordon, iii.241n.

6. According to the mortification's stipulation, "everie ane of

except for some uncertainty as to where he received the first year of his university training, it is known that he attended St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, from his second year onward. The problem concerning his first year will be dealt with in the context of the next chapter.

c. Academic Repute

Perhaps one of the chief reasons for Laurence sending his eldest son to the Aberdeen Grammar School was its reputation throughout Scotland for academic excellence. James Grant states that "not a few of the best grammarians of Scotland have been masters of the grammar school of Aberdeen, including Vaus, Cargill, Reid, Wedderburn"¹ etc. At the time Donald would have entered--probably about 1637²--Mr. David Wedderburn was nearing the close of his distinguished career which, altogether,

these four bursars and specially of my awin freyndis... shall...have the proffett of ane Thowsand merkis yeirlie for the space of four yeiris and gif they be of my Kin one yeiris proffett moir efter the compleiting of thair course" (FAMA, i.150).

1. History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of Scotland, i.17. Vaus, it should be noted, was the first Humanist at King's College and was connected, therefore, with the 'Old Aberdeen Grammar School'--a school operated in conjunction with the College for the express purpose of giving its students preparatory instruction in Latin (vide Officers and Graduates of University & King's College Aberdeen ed. P.J. Anderson, p.45 & n. and BR, pp.101-8, 57). This grammar school had not the antiquity, independent status or academic reputation of the 'New Town' school and there is, therefore, little possibility that Cargill would have attended it. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that it was with the New Town and the 'Old' school that the notable Cargill family were connected and it was also in the New Town that the aforementioned "Patrick Blairs hous" was located.
2. The average age of entrance into the grammar school is difficult to determine. Children anywhere from eight to twelve years of age were accepted, though the more ideal age seems

spanned a period of almost forty years, having commenced shortly after the death of his own teacher and master, Mr. Thomas Cargill, in 1602.¹ It was, moreover, the time when his career was at its height. The publication of his "new grammer" in 1632,² followed hard in the same year by the instruction from the Synod of Aberdeen that it was to be used by all the schools in the Diocese³ and, in the following year, by the action of the Council of Royal Burghs ordaining that it "be used be all schoolmasters and taught in Schools within the kingdom",⁴ brought him widespread attention and acclaim. His crowning achievements, however, were yet to come--the publication in 1634 of his Institutiones Grammaticae and in 1636 of his "new vocables for the weill and benefite of the young schollares within the said grammer schooll".⁵ To a father desirous of securing the best for his son, the educational opportunity in

to have been that from nine to eleven years (BR, pp.207,8). The rules of 1710 set the age of nine years as the minimum (Ibid., p.92) while in 1612 Mr. Alexander Home of Edinburgh recommended that the maximum be ten years (James Grant, Op. Cit., p.384). Alexander Jaffray, born in 1614, states that he entered the school in Aberdeen "about the ninth year of my age" (Diary of Alexander Jaffray ed. John Barclay, p.43).

1. Mr. David Wedderburn and Mr. Thomas Reid were appointed "coequal and coniunt maisteris" of the Grammar School on 6 February 1602 but, on the resignation of Mr. Reid on 12 October 1603 to accept a regency in the New College, Mr. Wedderburn became sole master of the School (BR, pp.28,9, 34,5).
2. Ibid., pp.62,3.
3. Ian J. Simpson, Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872, p.40.
4. Ibid. and vide Extracts from the Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland ed. J.D. Marwick, iv.532.
5. James Grant, Op.Cit., p.367 and BR, p.65.

Aberdeen at this time would seem to have been unexcelled.¹

(III) Covenanting Influences

If, on the basis of preceding considerations, the traditionally attested Aberdeen schooling of Donald Cargill was chiefly occasioned by the educational advantages to be secured in that city combined with the convenient residence there of his older cousin, Patrick Blair, some importance must also be ascribed to the unique climate of religious influence which then prevailed in that burgh and which was in large measure favourable to one of his family background and outlook. While Aberdeen was never noted for its sympathies with the spirit of presbyterian non-conformity, some of the ablest and most noted protagonists of this view-point were numbered among its citizenry and ministry during the years when Cargill would have been at school there. Laurence Cargill's knowledge of this--perhaps through Patrick Blair--undoubtedly lent added weight to his determination to send his son there, though he could not have known beforehand that Donald would thereby be present throughout one of the most momentous--and critical--periods

1. During the years when, presumably, Donald attended the Grammar School, the faculty included the following men: 1) Mr. James Boyd, from 1636 until his demission in 1641 (ER, pp.65,71); 2) Mr. Robert Morisone, his successor, who was cautioned by the Council the following year not to "mak defection from the religion presentlie profest" (Ibid., pp.71,2); and 3) Mr. David Swan, appointed in 1642 (Ibid., pp.71,3,4). On Mr. Wedderburn's voluntary retirement in 1640 "in regaird of his old aige and inhabilitie of bodie to serve in that function", Mr. Thomas Chalmer, who had formerly taught in the School between 1630 and 1636, was appointed his successor--which position he held until 1655 when he resigned it on account of friction with the Town Council (Ibid., pp.61-4,67-70,75, 6).

of Aberdeen's history.

a. Ministry

If Donald Cargill resided with his cousin, Patrick Blair, while in Aberdeen, it is probable that he attended the Church of St. Nicholas.¹ Ministering in St. Nicholas East at that time was DR. WILLIAM GUILD who, while initially inclined to favour episcopacy, was led in 1638 to sign the Covenant, though with certain stated reservations.² His subsequent unconditional subscription of the Covenant when appointed Principal of King's College in August 1640³ has left him ex-

-
1. "The Parish of St. Nicholas was the Burgh of Aberdeen until 1828, when it was divided into six--North, South, East, West, Greyfriars and St. Clements" (PC, Anderson Nicol, Minister of the West Church of St. Nicholas, to author, 10 May 1962; vide also The Story of the West Church of St. Nicholas by Anderson Nicol, p.11). As early as 1497 the Justice Port, located one-half mile east of the Church, lay within the parish of St. Nicholas (Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai by James Cooper, ii.87) and continued thus after the Reformation (Ibid., ii.153,291).
 2. These reservations, subscribed also by Mr. Robert Reid, minister at Banchory-Ternan, were as follows: "that we acknowledge not nor yit condempne the articles of Perth to be vnlauchfull or heidis of popery, bot onlie promeiss (for the peace of the churche and vther ressonis) to foirbear the practeiss thereof for a tyme...That we condempne no episcopall gouernment, seccluding the personall abuse thereof...That we still retane and sall retane all loyall and deutifull subiectioun and obedience vnto our dread soveraigne the Kingis Majestie, and that in this senss, and no vtheruaies, we haue put to our handis to the foirsaid covenant...at Abirdein, the 30th of July 1638" (MT., i.93).
 3. Vide Funeral Sermons, Orations, Epitaphs, and Other Pieces on the Death of the Right Rev. Patrick Forbes, C.F. Shand ed., pp.95-7. By Act of Parliament, 6 June 1640, it was ordained and commanded that the Confession of Faith and the Covenant "be subscriueit by all his Maties subiectis of what ranke and quality soevir wnder all civill paines" and "the samene to be presented at the entrie of everie Parliament And befor they proceed to ony wther Act That the same be

posed to the charge of "adapting his principles to the popular side",¹ but the fact remains that, from the standpoint of influence exerted, his conciliatory spirit stood out in marked contrast to that of his ministerial colleagues, Alexander Rose of St. Nicholas North and James Sibbald of St. Nicholas West--two of the six "Aberdeen Doctors" who staunchly opposed presbyterianism in general and the Covenant in particular.²

In 1641 the three charges of St. Nicholas received new ministerial appointments--John Oswald replacing Dr. Guild, Andrew Cant succeeding to the West Charge and John Row to the

publicklye red and suorne by the whole memberis of Parliament clameing voyce thairin otherwayes the refuissieris to subscribe and sweir the same shall have no place nor voyce in parliament And suchlyke ordeanes all judges magistratis and other officeris of whatsoevir place ranke or quality and ministeris at thair entrie To sweir and subscribe the samene Covenant" (APS, v. 270).

1. William Robbie, Aberdeen Its Traditions and History, p. 255, whose view is inferred, at least in part, from the statement of James Shirrefs that Guild "was desirous, by prudent concessions, to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (An Inquiry into the Life, Writings, and Character, of the Reverend Doctor William Guild, pp. 58, 9). Vide also George Grub's reference to him as "a weak, time-serving man, who...yielded to the arguments and threats of the Covenanters" (An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, iii. 13).
2. Vide FES, vi. 14, 36, 7 and Donald MacMillan's The Aberdeen Doctors, p. 45ff. "St. Nicholas was what is known as a Collegiate Church (three or more clergy)" (Anderson Nicol, Op. Cit., p. 7). In 1577 the choir and crypt of St. Nicholas were assigned as the place of worship for the Second (East) Charge (FES, vi. 1) and in 1580, when the Third (North) Charge was founded, "separate religious services soon came to be held in connection with both the Second and the Third Charges" (Ibid., vi. 13). Thus, until 1826, all three charges conducted their respective services of worship in the one Church.

North.¹ Of these Covenanter appointees, Andrew Cant and John Row stand out as two of non-conformity's most vigorous and vocal spokesmen.

ANDREW CANT, whom Spalding describes as "a gryte covenant-er, veray bussie in thir alterationis, and mortall enemy touard-

-
1. William Guild "preached for the last time, as Minister of Aberdeen, on the twenty seventh of June 1641" (James Shirrefs, Op.Cit., p.67) and John Oswald, his successor, was admitted the same year (FES, i.389 & vi.2 and MT, ii.89). He was, however, transferred to Edinburgh on 23 October 1643 (Ibid., ii.275). James Sibbald "was silenced and dep. by the Aberdeen Assembly, July...[1640], for refusing to subscribe the Covenant and for heretical preaching" (Ibid., vi.37) and Andrew Cant was appointed to the Charge by action of the General Assembly on 3 August 1640 (MT, i.313) and admitted 24 March 1641 (FES, vi.37). Alexander Rose died 11 August 1639 (Ibid., vi.14) and was succeeded by John Row (vide infra).

John Spalding complains that these ministers "cam not be the tounes seiking, or frie electioun, as thay war wont to do, bot imposit vpon thame be assemblies one way, and by moyan ane vther way, irresistable, and quhilk they durst not disobey, by old vse and wont" (MT, ii.89). "Be moyan", of course, is an allusion to the means of Mr. John Row's appointment who, he avers, "by convoy of Mr. Andrew Cant, is brocht to Abirdein" (Ibid.), but the Town Council Records show that he was both examined and nominated to the parish by the Council "the Toune alwayes giving thair consent and allowance thairunto" (The History of the Kirk of Scotland (1558-1637) by John Row with A Continuation to July 1639 by his Son, John Row, pp.xlii,xliii). It may also be noted in this connection that Andrew Cant had previously endeavoured in vain to persuade George Gillespie and Edward Wright to join him at St. Nicholas as he was "overburdenit in his charge" (ACL, ii.280-4). Concerning the means of his own admission to St. Nicholas vide Ibid., ii.xxii where Louise B. Taylor remarks: "...Possibly the townsfolk regretted that Cant had yielded to their persuasions to become one of their ministers".

is the bischoppis,"¹ was already a familiar figure in Aberdeen.² In 1636 he had been made an honorary burgess of the city while still minister at Pitsligo³ and less than two years afterward, in July 1638, had been appointed a member of the now-famous Commission that was delegated by the Tables "to draw in, if they can, these who yet lyes out in the sheriffdome and towne of Aberdeen".⁴ While he and his colleagues were unsuccessful in their attempt to enlist such popular support of it in Aberdeen and its environs as they had elsewhere, a sizable coterie of sympathisers that cut vertically through all classes of her

-
1. MT, i.142. He is termed by Robert Baillie "ane super-excellent preacher, as all report" (LJRB, i.93) and Robert Wodrow remarks that "the Malignants used to call him 'one of the Apostles' of the Covenant" (Analecta, iii.125). "A popular parody on the Litany ran,--

'From Henderson, Dickson and Cant,
Apostles of the Covenant,
Almighty God deliver us'"

- (The Book of Bon Accord [by Joseph Robertson], p.118). Hew Scott describes him as "the most actively bigoted supporter of the Covenant in the North of Scotland, a man of great moral earnestness and courage" (FES, vi.37). Vide also Louise B. Taylor (ACL, iv.xix).
2. A graduate of King's College in 1612 (Officers and Graduates of University & King's College Aberdeen, P.J. Anderson ed., p.180), he served there as Humanist in 1614 and 1615 (Ibid., p.46 and vide also James Gordon, Op.Cit., ii.165,6).
3. MNSC, ii.378.
4. LJRB, i.93. vide also John Row, Op.Cit., p.494.

citizens was drawn into their ranks.¹ Eight months later the cause of the Covenant received a new and more powerful impetus when the forces of Montrose occupied the city and left it under almost uninterrupted Covenanter command for some five years thereafter. It was against this more congenial background that Cant entered upon his new charge. For nearly twenty

-
1. Vide James Gordon, Op.Cit., i.82-96 and MT, i.91-4. Robert Baillie asserts that, on the first Sabbath following the Commissioners' arrival and after sermons by David Dickson of Irvine, Alexander Henderson of Leuchars and Andrew Cant of Pitsligo, "at a table in the close [of the Earl Marischal], some four or fyve hundred, at least a good number, whereof sundry were of the best qualitie, did subscriyve" (LRJB, i.96,7). Commenting on this numerical estimate, Robert King remarks: "An examination of the local and contemporary annals--although exact numbers are not given--will lead to the conviction that there is an inaccuracy here. The vagueness of the terms, indeed, prove the data of the writer to have been uncertain. Perhaps these numbers ought to be taken as the total subscriptions received in the town and neighbourhood, during the visit of the commission" (The Covenanters in the North, p.61). On the other hand, while Baillie's estimate of the number of subscribers on the first Sabbath may appear too large if compared with the impression given by Gordon and Spalding (vide supra) of the number of signatories on that day, it would also appear too small to compare favourably with the impression they subsequently give of the total number of subscribers drawn from Aberdeen and neighbourhood throughout the course of the Commissioners' visit. Furthermore, Baillie, after recording the number of subscribers on the Sabbath, proceeds to say: "On Mononday, they went out to the sheriffdome, where, with much labour, they persuaded many. My Lord Marqueis of Huntley, and the Clergy of the toune, had preoccupied the hearts of all that people with great prejudices against our cause; yet, by God's help, of the large half of the diocesse was obtained to the number of fourty-four Ministers" (LJRB, i.97). From this it may reasonably be deduced that "four or fyve hundred" would be a rather conservative estimate of the total number of subscribers acquired in Aberdeen and its environs. Officially, of course, Aberdeen remained unchanged and the following August "the Doctoris and Ministeris of Abirdein" received a letter of congratulation from Charles I for their "discreit and peciable" opposition to the Commission (MT, i.99).

years he prosecuted a vigorous, if not popular, ministry in Aberdeen, assuming a prominent role in the political as well as in the religious affairs of the burgh.¹ It is possible that certain of his children attended the Grammar School at the time Donald Cargill was himself enrolled.² His ministry came to a close with his deposition on 17 April 1661, shortly after the return of episcopal ascendancy.³

The other "apostle of the Covenant" admitted to St. Nicholas Church in 1641 was MR. JOHN ROW, the "grandson of the celebrated Dr John Row, the first Reformed minister of Perth",⁴ and the son of the anti-prelatic minister and historian of the same name.⁵ He was ordained to the Third

-
1. Vide Robert Wodrow, Op.Cit., ii.155,161,2 & iii.125 and ACL, iii.xxii,xxiii & iv.xix,xx. An interesting illustration of the powerful influence he wielded in Edinburgh is cited by Sir James Balfour in his The Annales of Scotland, iii. 427-30.
 2. Robert Wodrow, Op.Cit., ii.374.
 3. Vide ACL, iv.xx.
 4. James Grant, Op.Cit., p.95n.
 5. Vide John Row, Op.Cit., pp.vii-xxxviii. David Laing (editor) here relates that Mr. Row, the historian, was in 1619 summoned before the High Commission at St. Andrews "for non-conformity and opposition to prelacy" but received only "the censure of being confined to his own parish" where he was allowed to continue the exercise of his ministerial duties. Thereafter, "when dispensing the Sacrament, he usually obtained the assistance of some of the more eminent ministers who had been silenced or deprived of their livings, and his church was much resorted to by the higher class of non-conformists among the laity" (pp.xiii,xiv). He married Grissel, daughter of David Fergusson, "first Protestant minister of Dunfermline, who...continued...to the last to be strongly opposed to episcopal rites and ceremonies" (pp.xxxv,xxxvi). Vide also James Gordon, Op.Cit., ii.134: "Mr. John Row declared, that he subscriyved the Protestation given in to the Parliament 1606, and that there was no man more against Bishops in the toun of Stirling nor he".

Charge on 14 December 1641¹ having previously served for nine years as Master of the Perth Grammar School.² It was the changes in the Church upon "the extirpation of prelatie government, [that] induced Row to qualify himself for the ministry".³ For some ten years thereafter this "prime Covenanter"⁴ "proved to be a zealous co-operator with Cant in exercising a rigid ecclesiastical rule over the citizens...and showed special zeal in requiring subscription to the solemn league and covenant".⁵ The Register of the Synod of Aberdeen, however, reveals that by 21 October 1652 he and two other ministers had "separated themselfes from thee disciplin and government of this kirk to independencie" because of dissatisfaction with "thie present government of this Church".⁶ Notwithstanding his final withdrawal from the Church of Scotland in favour of Independency, however, and despite the fact that he vainly endeavoured in 1660 at the restoration of prelacy to alter a second time the direction of his allegiance by currying the

-
1. John Row, Op.Cit., xliii. Spalding relates that he was admitted to St. Nicholas through the influence of Andrew Cant (vide supra). On the day of his ordination he was also made an honorary burghess of the burgh (MNSC, ii.386). A year later, on 23 November 1642, he was appointed by the magistrates of Aberdeen to give weekly lessons in Hebrew in Marischal College (DNB, xvii.330).
 2. FES, vii.366. Vide also John Row, Op.Cit., pp.xxxix,xlii.
 3. Ibid., p.xlii.
 4. Ibid., xlvi.
 5. DNB, xvii.330.
 6. Vide John Stuart ed., Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen, pp.217-22. Vide also a letter written by him and four others of kindred spirit to the Clerk of the General Assembly on 24 May 1652 in explication of their newly assumed position (Diary of Alexander Jaffray, John Barclay ed., pp.65,6, 167-71,174).

good will of Charles II,¹ he was, in Cargill's day in Aberdeen, in the forefront of the Covenanting struggle--the coadjutor of Cant in every phase of the battle.

Within the bounds of the ancient parish of St. Nicholas and only a short distance beyond the Justice Port toward the mouth of the Dee there was another church whose minister during these years contributed strong support to the cause which was headed chiefly by Guild, Cant and Row. Between 1636² and 1645 the Chapel of St. Clement was served by MR. WILLIAM ROBERTSON, a native of Aberdeen and son of a burghess of the burgh.³ Both his marriage in 1637 to Isobel Gordon, grandniece of Provost Leslie,⁴ and his ready subscription of the Covenant the following year⁵ are indicative of his presbyterian proclivities. These were further made manifest by his being chosen Dean of the Faculty of Divinity at King's College in 1640, his being appointed one of the "assessouris to the rector" three years later⁶ and his being made a Guild Burgess in 1641.⁷ The records indicate that he worked in close conjunction with Cant and Row until at least 1645 when the eccles-

-
1. Vide John Row, Op.Cit., pp.li-liii. In consequence of his former anti-prelatic position, he was forced to demit the principalship of King's College--an office to which he had been appointed by Cromwell's Commissioners in 1652 immediately following his espousal of Independency (Ibid., xlvi. liii).
 2. He was admitted 14 September 1636 (FES, vi.27, but vide also ACL, ii.69).
 3. He was served heir to his deceased father, Charles Robertson, on 23 April 1616, being then "of full age", at which time he received "the sun half of the lands and town of Peterstoune" (Powis Papers, J.G. Burnett ed., p.133).
 4. Ibid. and vide genealogical chart p.7.
 5. MT, i.93.
 6. Fasti Aberdonenses, [Cosmos Innes ed.], pp.419,23.
 7. MNSC, ii.386.

iastical scene was again altered by the return of Montrose-- this time in unmitigated opposition to the cause he had formerly championed.¹ About 1651 he (Robertson) was transferred to Banchory-Devenick parish where he ministered until his death in 1656,² but his influence in Aberdeen on behalf of the Covenant was at its peak when Cargill was there at School.

Among the ministers in Aberdeen who assumed key roles on the side of presbyterianism, SAMUEL RUTHERFURD³ commands a unique place. Summoned by Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway on 27 July 1636 to Wigtown to appear before the High Commission Court "because of nonconformity to the acts of Episcopacy, and because of His work against the Arminians",⁴ he was deprived of his ministerial office and banished from his parish in Anwoth to Aberdeen where, doubtless, the strong influence of the 'Aberdeen Doctors' "might be brought to bear on this un-

1. MT, ii.451,63.

2. FES, vi.44 and vide also Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen, John Stuart ed., p.214. It should be noted that although the Fasti treats the William Robertsons of St. Clement's Chapel and Banchory-Devenick as two different individuals, there is record proof that it was the same man who ministered in both parishes during the periods stated (vide J.G. Burnett, Op.Cit., pp.133,4).

3. For evidence that this was Rutherford's own spelling of his name, vide A.T. Innes, Samuel Rutherford, p.129n.

4. LSR, p.12. Vide also LX, pp.135,6. The work referred to which precipitated his exile was his Exercitationes Apologeticae pro Divina Gratia which dealt with all the principal issues of the Arminian controversy (vide John Row, Op.Cit., p.396). Robert Baillie gives a full account of the several other provocations that incurred Sydserf's hostility (LJRB, i.8). Concerning the restrictions imposed upon him, vide LSR, CIXI, pp.300,1.

wavering presbyter".¹ During the period from September² of that year to the Summer³ of 1638, when he was resident there in semi-confinement and without "the liberty of a pulpit",⁴ he continued his warfare with singular and unabated zeal both in the field of letters⁵ and ecclesiastical controversy. Publicly "assaulted with the Doctors' guns" (as he styled it),⁶ he engaged them in open and frequent disputation. "Dr. Barron",⁷

1. J. King Hewison, The Covenanters, i.230.
2. Letter LXV, dated 5 September 1636, was written from Edinburgh; Letter LXVI, dated 20 September 1636, was written from Aberdeen, ISR, pp.144,5.
3. It is usually assumed that he left Aberdeen in February 1638, the assumption being based on his parishioners' statement that "for six quarters of a year no sound of the Word of God was heard in our kirk" (Ibid., p.15). He may well have been free to leave after the signing of the Covenant in Edinburgh and was certainly in Edinburgh on 3 June (Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, G.M. Paul ed., p.349; vide also LJR, i.78,9) and in Anwoth on 8 June (Joshua Redivivus, p.474), though no explanation is offered by the editor for a letter dated in Aberdeen on 11 June (ISR, CCXXXV, p.558). Perhaps John Livingstone approaches nearer the truth when he says that Rutherford was "almost two years" in Aberdeen (Select Biographies, W.K. Tweedie ed., i.321). Vide also Makers of Religious Freedom in the Seventeenth Century by Marcus L. Loane, p.72.
4. ISR, LXVIII, p.147.
5. "During his confinement in Aberdeen, he wrote about two hundred and twenty...letters" (Ibid., p.24). "But although so many of the letters have been recovered, these can be but a fraction of the whole number that he wrote during his stay in the Granite City" (G.M. Fraser, The Lone Shieling with Other Literary and Historical Sketches, p.127).
6. ISR, CCIX, p.410.
7. Robert Barron, one of the six "Aberdeen Doctors", received his M.A. from the University of St. Andrews in 1613, was ordained in 1619 to Keith parish and translated to Greyfriars Church on 27 October 1624. The following year, on 21 December, he was appointed Professor of Divinity at Marischal College which office he retained until shortly before his death in 1639. As intimated (*supra*), he stood in vigorous opposition to the Covenant (FES., vi.319 & vii.361).

he relates, "hath often disputed with me, especially about Arminian controversies, and for the ceremonies[but] three yokings laid him by; and I have not been troubled with him since!"¹ Spalding also refers in passing to an incident that occurred during a preaching service in St. Nicholas West when "ane minister called Rutherfurd,...heiring Doctor Sibbald..., stude up and accusit him of Armenianisme".² Notwithstanding, therefore, the general coolness³ he encountered in that town which consisted "either of Papists, or men of Gallio's naughty faith",⁴ the influence that emanated from "Christ's palace"⁵ was far-

1. LSR, CXVII, p.238. Vide also CXLIV, p.275.

2. MT, i.312.

3. On his arrival in Aberdeen, he wrote: "I find the town's-men cold, general, and dry in their kindness" (LSR, LXVI, pp.144,5). Two months later he wrote: "I find folks here kind to me; but in the night, and under their breath. . . Others are kind according to their fashion. Many think me a strange man, and my cause not good. . .The preachers of the town pretend great love, but the prelates...discharge me of the pulpits of this town" (*Ibid.*, LXIX, p.149). Still later, he wrote: "I cannot get a house in this town wherein to leave drink-silver in my Master's name, save one only. There is no sale for Christ in the north" (*Ibid.*, CXIX, pp.241, 2).

4. *Ibid.*, LXXVII, p.163. Vide also LXX, p.150 and CLXI, pp. 300,1.

5. A common designation for his place of residence in Aberdeen (vide, for example, *Ibid.*, LXIII, p.143). "The house in which Rutherford at first lodged in Aberdeen is said to have stood on the left-hand side of Burn Court, 44 Upper-kirkgate" (James Stark, The Lights of the North, p.144). Vide also G.M. Fraser's valuable discussion of Rutherford's place of residence (*Op.Cit.*, pp.128-30) in which he mentions that from his window looking "towards the west the only buildings that would meet his eye would be two mean structures on the Schoolhill--the Grammar School and the Sang School, apart from the massive pile of St. Nicholas Church"--the very buildings, it may be noted, which would have occupied the central place in Cargill's life during these years.

reaching.¹ If, as is probable, that influence helped to lay the foundation for the measure of success achieved by the visit of the Tables' Commission in 1638 and, more particularly, for the volte-face of Dr. Guild of St. Nicholas East who, at the time of their visit, cast his lot with the Covenanters, it could also have left a lasting impression on young Donald Cargill who was probably receiving his English or grammar school training at that time. It may, in fact, have been largely in consequence of this influence that Cargill in 1643 (or 1644) turned his face from Aberdeen to St. Andrews in pursuit of his university training for it was ^{to which} to St. Andrews that Rutherford had been appointed both minister and professor in 1639 and where afterward he became Principal of the New College and Rector of the University. It is possible, even, that Cargill's decision to transfer to St. Andrews was sealed at the time Rutherford formally declined his "nomination and election" by the Aberdeen Town Council in May 1644² to succeed his former eccles-

-
1. Despite the "coldness" he encountered on arriving in Aberdeen, he wrote: "Yet I find a lodging in the heart of many strangers" (LSR, LXVI, pp.144,5) and sometime afterward he could say: "I have found many faces smile upon me since I came hither" (Ibid., LXXVII, p.163). His exclusion from the pulpits of Aberdeen brought similar reaction: "The people murmur and ery out against it. . . Some people affect me, for the which cause, I hear the preachers here purpose to have my confinement changed to another place" (Ibid., LXIX, p.149 and vide also CCIXXIV, pp.530,1). In mid-1637 the Lady Keith, and her son, William, were added to the circle of friends (Ibid., CCVI, p.407 & n) and in September of the same year he wrote: "I find a little brairding of God's seed in this town, for the which the doctors have told me their mind, that they cannot hear with it, and have examined and threatened the people that haunt my company" (Ibid., CCLIX, p.508). The number of his visitors and the "multitude of letters" (Ibid., CCIXXII, p.527) seem, in the course of his confinement, to have required an ever-increasing amount of his time and energy.
 2. EXTRA-B, ii.25 and vide also ACL, ii.367. According to James

istical opponent, Dr. Barron, in the Chair of Divinity of Marischal College. In acknowledging the truth, therefore, of Robert Gilmour's summary remark that "the cause of Rutherford and Guthrie was [to become] the cause of Cameron, Cargill and Renwick",¹ it seems evident that, as far as Cargill was concerned, the influence of Rutherford was first encountered in Aberdeen rather than in St. Andrews.

Within the parish bounds of Aberdeen, then, it was these divines who, in Cargill's day, constituted the principal spokesmen for presbytery and Covenant but the word they spoke knew no such bounds. Cant's "strong voice" and "Boanerges" temperament² typified, in a sense, all of them for they exercised an influence which extended well beyond their burgh limits. A responsive note was struck in the neighbouring parishes. Spalding, for example, has preserved the name of four who "wes movit to subscribe the covenant" on that memorable "Mononday" in July 1638--"Mr. David Lyndsay, persone of Balhelvie, Mr. Androw Melving, persone of Banchorie Devnik, Mr. Thomas Melvill, minister at Dyss, [and] Mr. Walter Andersoun, minister at Kynnellar".³ While every one of these ministers continued in active support of the Covenant, most prominent among them was DAVID LINDSAY. Though at first he refrained from signing it because

Stark, he had been similarly invited to Aberdeen toward the close of 1638 to "take the Chair of Divinity in the University of that City, which he refused to do" (The Lights of the North, p.142) The authentication of this has not been discovered.

1. Samuel Rutherford, p.206.

2. Vide Records of the Kirk of Scotland, Alexander Peterkin ed., p.251 and James Stark, Op.Cit., p.161.

3. MT, i.92,3 and vide also FES, vi.44,7,54,9.

of the challenge inherent in the Doctors' "Demands", he was finally persuaded to do so by the Commissioners' "Answers" to their opponents "Replies"¹ and from that time forward his services were in constant demand--in the work of the Assembly and its commissions, as rector of King's College and as a Visitor to the University of Aberdeen.² Robert Baillie lauds him as "a stirring and a pragmatick bold man"³ and with regard to his contribution to the Assembly of 1638 he declares that "he had the chief charge of the bills; yea, the man's dexteritie and diligence in this kinde of employment was such, that to the end of the Assemblie such business lay upon him almost alone".⁴ His close association with Aberdeen is evidenced by his having been made an Honorary Burgess of the burgh in December 1641 in company with John Row and William Robertson.⁵ Although he continued in the ministry after the restoration of episcopacy until his death in 1667, he was, prior to the Restoration, "one of the most active and energetic in the cause of the Covenanters".⁶

In concluding this sketch of the chief Covenanter influences that were set in motion by various of the ministers of Aberdeen and neighbourhood and which may be adjudged to have left their lasting imprint on Donald Cargill during his youthful days "in

-
1. LJR.B, i.97. Gordon's reference to him as "one who would be either amongst the first, or not at all ther" would thus appear to reflect a personal bias (Op.Cit., i.85).
 2. FES, vi. 47.
 3. LJR.B, i.135.
 4. Ibid., i.148
 5. MNSC, ii.386
 6. FES, vi.47.

the schools of Aberdeen", the valuable entry of Robert Baillie deserves particular notice. He records that, on Monday, 22 July 1638, ¹ "the large half of the diocese of Aberdeen was obtained to subscribe the Covenant to the number of forty-four Ministers". ² While it is no longer possible either to identify many of those ministers who thus registered their assent to the Covenant or to evaluate their motives, it is certain from those who are known that they commanded widespread attention and were accorded considerable sympathy by the general populace. Among the more prominent of the burgh citizens who were thus affected by the leaven of presbyterian non-conformity, several will be viewed directly.

b. Citizenry.

Once again it is in Spalding's Memorials that the best initial reference may be obtained with regard to the Aberdeen lay-signatories of the Covenant of 1638. He writes:

"Many auditores wes thair...sic as Patrik Leslie, burges of Abirdein, Johne Leslie his brother, Mr. Alex^r Joffray, syndrie of the name of Burnet, and vtheris burgessis of Abirdein, and likuaies Mr. Johne Lundie, maister of the Gramer Scooll,³ common procuratour for the Kingis College".⁴

Particularly outstanding among these men in the civic life of Aberdeen were Patrick Leslie and Alexander Jaffray. Between

-
1. John Row, curiously, records 22 July as "the Sabbath" (Op.Cit., p.495).
 2. LJR, i.97. For a list of the covenanted ministers, elders and burgesses who were commissioned to the General Assembly of 1638, vide Alexander Peterkin, Op.Cit., p.110 and James Gordon, Op.Cit., ii.5,6.
 3. The Grammar School of Old Aberdeen (vide MT, i.131 passim and James Gordon, Op.Cit., i.154,5).
 4. MT, i.92,3. Vide also John Row, Op.Cit., p.495.

1634 and 1647 Leslie was six times elected provost of the burgh¹ and Jaffray five times,² and, from 1636 to 1645--the decade of Cargill's probable residence there, these men held this office for eight of the ten terms with Robert Johnston of Grimond, royalist and conformist, provost in 1637-8³ and Robert Farquhar, Covenanter, provost in 1645.⁴ Thus, with the single exception

1. 1634, 39, 40, 42, 43 & 47 (MPA, pp.137-57).

2. 1635 (twice), 36, 38 & 41 (Ibid.).

3. Ibid. Johnston had been irregularly elected in 1635 but after only twelve days in office he was dismissed by the Privy Council (Ibid., p.141 and ACL, ii.xxviii).

4. Robert Farquhar, reputed in his day to have been one of Scotland's wealthiest men (MPA, pp.152,3) was elected Burgess of Guild and Trade in 1613 (MNSC, i.111), served frequently as baillie of the burgh (vide, e.g., John Stuart, Op.Cit., p.112 and MT, ii.189) and was twice elected provost of Aberdeen (in 1644 & 1650, John Stuart, Op.Cit., pp.151,63). He sided early with the Covenanting Party (vide ACL, ii.29n for his pre-covenanting proclivities) and is duly classed by Spalding with Leslie, Jaffray and certain others whom he characterises as "pryme covenanters, and mortall enemyis to the Kingis loyall subiectis in Abirdene" (MT, ii.401) In April 1639 Montrose included him in a special commission to present a claim of the burgh before the Tables--which they successfully prosecuted (Ibid., i.172,91 and John Row, Op.Cit., p.514)--and in July 1640 he was "maid commissare... for vplifting of the tenthis and tuanteithis throw the haill schirefdomes of Mernis, Abirdene, and Banf" (MT, i.301,34 passim). As an evidence of the remuneration received from this and other offices, he is revealed to have been in July 1644 creditor to the government to the amount of L.180, 859 Scots, in repayment of which he was granted one-third of all the fines collected north of the Tay (APS, VI.I.170). Four months previous to this he, Leslie, Alexander Jaffray (younger) and John, his brother, had had their houses plundered and they themselves had suffered imprisonment in consequence of a raid inspired by the Marquis of Huntly on the allegation that they "were Covenanters, and had given bad information against him and his friends". All were released, however, about six weeks later on the arrival in Aberdeen of the forces of Argyll (vide John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., p.48 and MT, ii.324-6,341,53,60). In September of that year, he and some other Covenanters were again forced from the city--this time in sudden flight before the advancing forces of Montrose (Ibid., ii.407). With the return of circumstances more favourable to him, he was re-elected to the

of the epochal year 1638, the Aberdeen provostship, as known to Cargill, rested continuously in the hands of two of the burgh's most influential patrons of the Covenant.

PATRICK LESLIE, according to a characteristic description from the pen of Spalding, was "ane pryme covenanter, and of good estait"¹ and Gordon similarly represents him as being a man who "stoode stiffe for the Covenant".² The intense zeal with which he espoused the principles of the Covenant had not, however, been suddenly fired amid the bursting enthusiasm of the Covenanting upheaval nor had it been fomented by any incipient anti-royalist sentiments on his part,³ but was due rather to a seasoned opposition that had developed in the course of the gradual intrusion of Erastian "novations" during the years

provostship in 1650 and a short time thereafter was knighted by Charles II during an official visit to the burgh (MPA, p.163). For a much fuller account of his numerous and varied official activities, vide ACL, i-iv.

1. MT, i.231. He elsewhere describes him as "a strong covenanter" (ii.189) and, after including him among several "honest men" (i.334) who handled "rentall" collections, cites a contemporary estimate depicting him as "ane evill statesman for the commoun weill" (ii.326) for allegedly reaping personal benefits from these collections. Patrick Gordon in his A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper, p.81, refers to him as "a wehement Couenanter".
2. Op.Cit., iii.167. His relationship to William Robertson, Covenanter minister of St. Clement's Chapel, has been previously noted (vide supra, p.88/n.4)
3. Leslie, as Baillie, was commissioned along with Provost Paul Menzies and Walter Robertson, Town Clerk, to represent the burgh at the coronation of Charles I on 18 June 1633 (vide ACL, i.383,4 and MT, i.33n) and vide infra.

preceding. On account of this opposition he had, as early as 1633, incurred the open hostility and censure of Charles I by voting (in Parliamentary session) against certain of the King's ecclesiastical proposals--those, evidently, among others, which "forbade separate meetings of the estates for informal discussion of the legislative programme" and those by which he attempted "to insinuate the use of the English Prayer Book and Anglican ceremonial, and at the same time the use of the surplice".¹ In consequence of his 'misdemeanour', therefore, Leslie was deprived "of his burgess right to hold any office

-
1. SBSH, iii.78,87. The Parliamentary irregularity of Leslie is thus explained by Louise B. Taylor: "When Parliament met in full session on 28 June 1633, there appears after his [Provost Paul Menzies'] name the unique entry 'absent' [vide APS, V.12]. Letter No. 17 reveals that Patrick Leslie took his [Menzies'] place and voted against all the heads to which Sir Paul had previously assented, a line of conduct which came to the King's notice. Since Leslie was to become a most zealous Covenanter, it seems safe to conclude that he had voted against the King's religious proposals and was accordingly non persona grata" (ACL, ii.xxvii,xxviii). In all probability Leslie's opposition to Charles consisted substantially in his support of the 'Supplication' which was submitted by a great number of the "nobilitie, barrons, and burgesses, to be delyvered to the King before the last day of the Parliament" (John Row, Op.Cit., p.364). Their objective was not achieved "at that tyme, but their number that were supplicators were well knownen in their votes in open Parliament" (Ibid.). Even though the King refused to receive this 'Supplication' it nevertheless "resulted in the trial of Lord Balmerino, one of the 'Supplicants'--an episode which suggested that the king would disregard any attempt by an opposition to state its case" and it "clearly anticipated the combination of constitutional and ecclesiastical grievances which was later to be conspicuous in the National Covenant" (SBSH, iii.78). Thus the spirit which motivated Leslie's allegiance to the National Covenant was identical with that which brought him into disfavour with the Crown in 1633.

in the town council of Aberdeen in time to come",¹ and for nearly five years thereafter² --apart from one notable exception³ --he accordingly makes no official appearance in the public records. But the widespread changes contingent on the signing of the Covenant were finally sufficient to draw him from his political exile and to bring him again into the forefront of civic service. In September 1639 he was for the second time

"chosin prouest of Abirdene...be the consent of the most pairt of the counsall, who was also all covenanteris, and vpone his course of preferment, be express command of the estaitis of this kingdome, as a man fitting for their service in this tumvltuous tymes"⁴ --

in which office he served for two consecutive terms.⁵

Leslie's return to public office gave new thrust to the Covenanting Cause both within and beyond the burgh limits. Early in 1640 he combined forces with Dr. Guild for the purpose of generating a new zeal for the Covenant by encouraging

1. ACL, ii.xxviii.

2. There is no mention in the public records of further official engagements on his part until 2 January 1639 (*Ibid.*, ii.107 and vide also pp.112,39 and MPA, p.147).

3. He was elected to the office of provost in September 1634 "either in ignorance or in defiance of this veto [of the King]" (ACL, ii.xviii and vide Letter No.17), but the election was nullified four months later (January 1635) by direct intervention of Charles (vide MT, i.55n,67n and MPA, pp.138,9), and Leslie was consequently declared ineligible for re-election the following September (vide ACL, ii. Letter Nos.21,2) which "caused great displeasure to a powerful party both in the Council and outside of it" (MPA, p.140). The non-conformist influence in the Council at that time is evidenced by their choosing Alexander Jaffray to succeed Leslie at the regular Michaelmas election of 1635 (vide ACL, ii.xxviii and MPA, pp.140,1).

4. MT, i.230,1.

5. Vide MT, i.345.

former subscribers to re-affirm their allegiance to it and by appealing to the general populace for new recruits.¹ While results favourable to their aims were achieved, they were probably not commensurate with the influence that might have been expected from such a coalition of the two leading figures of town and parish. In June following Leslie further displayed his covenanting zeal by assuming personal oversight of various alterations to the Greyfriars Kirk preparatory to the forthcoming meeting there of the General Assembly.² From that time forward he was constantly engaged in a wide range of services pertaining to both church and government, being frequently appointed commissioner of the burgh to Parliament,³ to the General Assembly⁴ and to the Convention of Royal Burghs.⁵ Toward the close of his vigorous public career he confined

-
1. James Gordon, Op.Cit., iii.130. Three years later, perhaps in commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the Covenant's first appearance at Greyfriars, Leslie initiated another such campaign by convening "the tounschip of Abirdene...in the tolbuith...putting them in rememberanss of there covenant quhilk thay had suorne and subscrivit, desyring thame constantlie to stik to the samen" (MT, ii.232).
 2. James Gordon, Op.Cit., iii.215.
 3. He represented the burgh at parliamentary sessions in 1640, 1,2,3,4,5,8 (vide ACL, ii.251,85,98; iii.100,11; and [A.M. Munro], Notes on the Members of Parliament for the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1357-1886, Reprinted from the Aberdeen Journal, 1889, pp.30,1). For Spalding's valuable account of Leslie's prime "place and moyen" in Parliament, vide MT, ii.96,7.
 4. 1648 (ACL, iii.111).
 5. 1643,4 (Ibid., ii.351,69,70).

himself principally to his own municipality serving variously as councillor,¹ baillie² and provost,³ but the crowning point appears to have been reached in 1651 when, along with Provost Robert Farquhar, he was knighted by the newly crowned "Covenanter monarch", Charles II, during his brief visit to Aberdeen.⁴ His acceptance of this honour is revelatory of his conviction that the royalist spirit per se was in no way incompatible with adherence to those politico-religious principles embodied in the National Covenant--a conviction that was shared by most of his Covenanter colleagues.⁵ In many respects the career and influence of MR. ALEXANDER JAFFRAY⁶ of Kingswells⁷ possessed

1. 1647 (Ibid., iii.77).

2. 1647 (Ibid., iii.91).

3. 1643,4,7 MPA, pp.148-51,6,7).

4. Vide James Balfour, Op.Cit., iv.257.

5. The acceptance of knighthood from Charles II by two such uncompromising Covenanters has given rise to a diversity of explanations. A.M. Munro, for example, proposes that "the fate of the 'martyr king' [Charles I] appears to have changed Leslie's opinions, or at least to have tempered the direction of his energies" (Notes, etc., p.31), while Louise B. Taylor guardedly levels the charge that "surely these knighthoods were bought? [as] both were wealthy men and neither had been conspicuously Royalist in the past" (ACL, iv.xxvii ad vide p.47n). Munro's comment can be dismissed as purely suppositional as can also the assumption that the knighthoods were bought, but it must be observed with reference to the latter assertion that, while neither of the men was conspicuously royalist, both were genuine royalists at heart. It was only the Erastian innovations of Charles I that severed in part their royalist attachments for when his successor embraced the Covenants--becoming "what his father had never been--a covenanted King of Scots" (P.Hume Brown, History of Scotland to the Present Time, ii.276)--their royalist allegiance was wholly restored.

6. Though his graduation is not listed, he probably received his M.A. from Marischal College in 1606 as his name appears under "tertii ordinis nomina" in 1605 (FAMA, ii.188).

7. "The small estate of Kingswells, lying about five miles west of Aberdeen came into the possession of the Jaffrays in the

common character with that of Leslie--politically¹ if not ecclesiastically.² Having once cast his lot on the side of the Covenant,³ he deployed his energies for its advancement

year 1587, being purchased, as the family records state, by Alexander Jaffray, baillie of Aberdeen" (cited by Joseph Robertson, Op.Cit., p.238n, from the Diary of Alexander Jaffray; vide also James Allardyce ed., The Family of Burnett of Leys, p.28 and, per contra, G.M. Fraser ed., "Alexander Jaffray's Recollections of Kingswells" (The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club, i.134).

1. Admitted Burgess of Guild and Trade in 1616 (MNSC, i.117), he had, previous to his becoming a Covenanter, served six terms as baillie of the burgh (1624,6,8,30,2,4, ACL, i.226, 45,86,9,311,3,30,59, ii.14,5,20 & FAMA, i.143,5,98,202), once as a special commissioner for the burgh (1634, ACL, ii.14), three times as provost (1635,6,7, Ibid., ii. xxviii,46,57-9,66 & MPA, pp.141-4), twice as commissioner to Parliament (1628,30, [A.M. Munro], Notes, etc., p.30) and four times as burgh commissioner to the Convention of Burghs (1624,6,30,4, ACL, i.226,45,86,313, ii.15,8). He declined a further appointment in 1640 (Ibid., ii.164,82).
2. The printed records indicate that throughout his career he held but one ecclesiastical office, having been elected elder in St. Nicholas Kirk in 1620 (vide Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen ed. John Stuart, p.92). In the realm of churchmanship, therefore, he made no apparent contribution to the Covenanting Cause which indicates that his attachment to it was more politically than religiously motivated. According to a memoir of his son, Alexander, the Quaker (vide infra), religion was not one of Mr. Jaffray's strong points for, following his death in 1645, the diarist wrote of him: "He was much reformed, and withdrawn from company-keeping in taverns, before his death; and I trust he found mercy, and died in favour with God and men" (John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., p.54).
3. When in March 1638 the Covenant was first brought to Aberdeen for subscription by the town council, it was "refusit" by "all in ane voce", Jaffray being one of the members (vide ACL, ii.89 and MT, i.87 & n). It was not until the visitation of the commissioners of the Tables in July following that he reversed his position and "wes movit to subscribe" it.

in the same "rigorouss"¹ manner that characterised numerous other of its most ardent champions. In September 1638, despite concerted opposition by a royalist faction within the burgh council, Jaffray was chosen to succeed Robert Johnston in the Aberdeen provostship.² Six months afterward he led the 'Braif Toun' to grant a peaceable entry to the vastly superior forces of General Montrose³ which, on 3 April, resulted in a general subscription of the Covenant by the

"prouest, balleis, counsall, and communitie of Abirdein, (who had stiflie stand out befoir...so mony of thame as war at hame and not fled) diuerss of the ministrie of the diocie, gentilmen, and vtheris".⁴

One week later "eftir sermone made by Maister James [sic] Row, minister, the toun for the most pairt subscriwit the nobilities covenant".⁵ Jaffray's demonstration of covenanting zeal culminated that same year⁶ in his appointment as commissioner of Aberdeen to Parliament and from then until the close of 1640 he was constantly employed as the burgh's parliamentary repres-

1. Vide MT, ii.442.

2. The town Council (including Jaffray) had twice signified opposition to the Covenant before the arrival of the Commission of Tables on 20 July (vide ACL, ii.87-9 and ECRA-B, i.128-30), on the latter occasion of which they had received the special commendation of Charles I and the Marquis of Hamilton (*Ibid.*, i.133,4). On 26 September (the day of the election of the new provost), the continuing anti-Covenanter party in the council presented a formal petition to prevent any Covenanter from being nominated or elected "councillour or magistratt" (*Ibid.*, i.134,5) but Jaffray was elected in spite of this "protestatioun".

3. *Ibid.*, i.153,4.

4. MT, i.159.

5. ECRA-B, i.157.

6. 31 August 1639, in which session he was also appointed to the Articles (vide APS, V.252,3; James Balfour, *Op.Cit.*, ii.355,61; and [A.M. Munro], *Op.Cit.*, p.30).

entative.¹ His final term as Provost of Aberdeen was served in 1641 and 1642² after which he appears to have retired from public office. He died in 1645.³

The Jaffray influence in Aberdeen on behalf of the Covenant was, however, a family, not merely an individual matter, for Mr. Jaffray's sons--Alexander, John and Thomas--were, evidently from the beginning,⁴ linked with him in the common cause. During Donald Cargill's residence in Aberdeen, Alexander and John in particular⁵ held prominent posts in the burgh council--their participation in national affairs taking place principally after 1645.⁶ For present purposes, Alexander merits special scrutiny for, in contrast to his father (whose allegiance to the Covenant seems to have been governed chiefly by political ends),⁷ his attachment to the Cause was fundamentally religious in character. His second wife was a daughter of Andrew Cant;⁸ he was constantly associated with the leading

-
1. Vide his attendance at "a gryte meiting keipit at Edinbrugh be the covenantaris" on 17 April 1640 (MT, i.263 and ACL, ii.195-7) and at parliamentary sessions in June (MT, i.270; APS, V.259; James Gordon, Op.Cit., iii.182), August (ACL, ii.224) and November (Ibid., ii.249). He was temporarily confined in Aberdeen by Viscount Aboyne in June 1639 but was released on guarantee of his royalism (vide John Row, Op.Cit., pp.518,9; ECRA-B, i.171,2; and MPA, pp.146,7).
 2. Ibid., p.148; ECRA-B, i.285; ACL, ii.296,9,337,48.
 3. John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., p.54 and MT, ii.442.
 4. It seems reasonable to conclude that they would have subscribed the Covenant in July 1638 in company with their father (vide John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., p.155 and [Joseph Robertson], Op.Cit., p.182).
 5. With respect to Thomas, vide ACL, ii.46, iii.17 passim.
 6. Vide Ibid., iii.q.v. and John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., p.157 et al.
 7. Vide supra p.102, n.2.
 8. Vide Ibid., p.53 and [Joseph Robertson], Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, iv.688.

Covenanter figures--civil and ecclesiastical--and, on one occasion, was involved in a hazardous altercation with the anti-Covenanter Laird of Haddo.¹ Furthermore, he was a member of the parliamentary commission delegated to negotiate the return of Charles II in 1649 in accordance with the terms of the covenants,² and his Diary provides numerous illustrations of the depth of his religious experience and convictions from which sprang his Covenanting affinities.³ Young Cargill could not have been left untouched by an influence so unusual and pronounced and so closely allied with his own father's persuasions.

The pro-Covenanting influences of the Leslie and Jaffray families represented at best, however, but a small proportion of the total concentration in Aberdeen during the period under consideration. Spalding, for example, at numerous points in his Memorialls, includes brief catalogues of the names of those who were more prominently involved in various of the key episodes of the struggle⁴ and thus, indirectly, provides some in-

-
1. Vide John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., pp.47-9,155 and MT,ii. 256,7.
 2. John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., pp.54-6. Certain of his letters dispatched at that time from the Hague are preserved in the Miscellany of the Spalding Club ed. John Stuart, v.378-80 and ACL, iii.131,2,5.
 3. A.M. Munro remarks: "Jaffray's experiences in religious matters were the outcome of his idea that it was possible to live up to a higher standard of Christian profession than had hitherto been done" (MPA, p.163).
 4. Vide, for example, those who were forced into retreat before the forces of Viscount Aboyne in June 1639 (MT, i.206); the "48 covenanters" who fled in advance of the Marquis of Huntly in March 1644 (Ibid., ii.326,30); and those who lost their lives on the return of Montrose the following September (Ibid., ii.412).

sight into the total influence of the movement there. A brief sketch of these principal personages--both from within the burgh and among the closely associated nobility--will bring this section to a close.

It will be recalled that, according to Spalding, among the original signatories of the Covenant were "sindrie of the name of Burnet, and vtheris burgessis of Abirdein". Two men who must be considered among these "vtheris burgessis" were MR. WILLIAM RAIT and MR. WILLIAM MOIR, baillies of the burgh. Spalding refers to the former as being in 1644 "a mane covenant¹", alluding first to him as a key figure on the occasion of the public subscription of the Solemn League and Covenant² and later to his part in preparing the town's defences against the return of Montrose toward the close of 1644.³ Of Mr. Moir considerably more is recorded. Included by Spalding among the "pryme covenant⁴is" (though he, like Jaffray, declined at first to accept the Covenant⁵), he was among the Covenanter fugitives from Aboyne's attack in 1639⁶ and in 1644 was ranked with the "48 covenant⁷is" who suffered by reason of the raid of Haddo--in connection with which "abuse" he was later commissioned to seek civic redress before the Committee of Estates.⁷ Previous to this in 1640 he had served in similar capacity as burgh commissioner to the Committee of Estates⁸

1. Ibid., ii.401.

2. Ibid., ii.288.

3. Ibid., ii.401.

4. Ibid.

5. ACL, ii.89.

6. MT, i.187.

7. Ibid., ii.325-30.

8. James Gordon, Op.Cit., iii.182.

and in the following year to the General Assembly with, inter-alia, special instructions to expedite the "transplanting" of Mr. George Gillespie and Mr. Edward Wright to vacant pulpits in Aberdeen and to secure a minister and professor of divinity for the town's kirk and college.¹ His influence in Covenanting circles was again recognised in 1645 when for a third time he served as commissioner to the Committee of Estates.²

Spalding's allusion to "sindrie of the name of Burnet" as being early supporters of the Covenant bears undoubted reference to the family of Leys which, from the first, harboured strong covenanting sympathies. SIR THOMAS BURNETT of LEYS, 1st Baronet, was, "on purely conscientious grounds, and in opposition to his political instincts",³ one of the original signatories of the Covenant. The records indicate that, as early as 16 March 1638, he and three other "Barrones" presented a missive to the Aberdeen Burgh Council calling for their subscription of the Covenant.⁴ The effort was premature and consequently unsuccessful⁵ but in July following with undaunted

1. ACL, ii.282-5.

2. Ibid., iii.17.

3. James Allardyce (The Family of Burnett of Leys, p.45). Furthermore, he affirms that, while "a minority of the gentry of these parts [the north-east of Scotland] including the Keiths, Forbeses, and Frasers, were, from motives of expediency, favourably disposed towards the Covenant, as an instrument for breaking down the Gordon ascendancy, ...it would be a mistake to class with them Sir Thomas Burnet".

4. ACL, ii.88,9.

5. The commendatory letter received by the council from Charles on 25 April was doubtless occasioned by their unanimous refusal to sign the Covenant (ECRA-B, i.124,5).

zeal he twice revisited the town as a member of the Commission of Tables to secure its allegiance¹ and that time realised positive results--his own "castell of Muchells in Mearnes" serving as the Commission's head-quarters.² From then until his death in 1653³ his covenanting loyalties remained undivided⁴ even though Spalding ascribes to him the anomalous distinction of being "ane faithfull lover and follouer of the houss of Huntlie" and "ane gryte covenanter also".⁵ Among the "sindrie" members of his family and kin who actively shared his covenanting sympathies were his younger brother, James of Craigmyle,⁶ his second wife, Jean Moncrieff⁷ and his son, Mr. Robert, a member of the Faculty of Advocates.⁸ Alexander

-
1. Vide MT, i.87,91 and James Gordon, Op.Cit., i.82.
 2. Ibid., i.88. Gordon here describes Sir Thomas as "one who was aeqwally zealous towards the puritie of the reformed religion and the advauncement of the Covenant".
 3. James Allardyce ed., Op.Cit., p.71.
 4. MT, i. 133.
 5. Vide Ibid., passim and James Gordon, Op.Cit., ii.262 passim. The records indicate, inter alia, that he stood in opposition to the Engagement of 1648 (James Allardyce ed., Op.Cit., p.55).
 6. Spalding characterises Sir Thomas and James as "tuo peciabil weill set gentilmen" (MT, i.189) and Gordon depicts the latter as "a gentleman of great wisdom, and one who favoured the King, though he dwelt amongst the Covenanters, yet loved and respected by all" (Op.Cit., ii.262). James Allardyce describes his covenanting spirit as assuming the form of "an advisor of moderate counsels, a peacemaker and negotiator, and an enemy of bloodshed" (Op.Cit., p.113, but vide also pp.49,51).
 7. She is accorded honourable mention by Samuel Rutherford in a letter written from Aberdeen to the Viscountess Kenmure on 17 June 1637 (LSR, CCVI, p.406).
 8. Vide James Allardyce ed., Op.Cit., p.61 & n. Robert Burnet of Crimond, a yet younger brother of Sir Thomas and father of the celebrated prelate, was strongly opposed to the Covenant even though his wife was a sister of Archibald Johnston of Warriston (vide Ibid., p.130ff and James Gordon Op.Cit., i.33n and iii.126n).

Burnet of Shethocksley (Sir Thomas's first cousin once removed) also occupied an important place in the ranks of the Covenant-¹ers.

It is worthy of mention in this context that a granddaughter of Sir Thomas, Jean Burnet (though evidently without covenanting affinities herself), married John Skene of Skene whose family had long been prominent in Aberdeen circles.² It was John's brother, James, who, shortly after uniting with the Covenanters, was one of those who were condemned and executed because of their close association with Donald Cargill, the subject of this work.³

During the period of Cargill's Aberdeen schooling many of the more renowned leaders from the Covenanter nobility became familiar figures in the town, as, for example, the Earls of Argyll and Findlater, and the Earl Marischal.⁴ One of those with whom

1. Vide James Allardyce ed., Op.Cit., pp.344-6.

2. John was made a burghess of the burgh on 8 November 1673 (MNSC, ii.440).

3. Vide James Allardyce ed., Op.Cit., p.61 and Memorials of the Family of Skene of Skene ed., W.F. Skene, pp.37,8. Jean Burnet and John Skene were second cousins as his maternal grandmother, Janet Burnet, was a sister of Sir Thomas Burnet of Leys (James Allardyce ed., Op.Cit., p.40). For a fuller account of James Skene's association with Donald Cargill and the Covenanters, vide Sir John Lauder's Historical Observes, pp.7-13 & 26; ACL, vi.234,5,46n & 317; A Cloud of Witnesses, pp.11-3 & 82ff; Robert Wodrow's History of the Sufferings, iii.225-8; and W.F. Skene ed., Op.Cit., p.36.

4. The Earl of Argyll was "maid Marques" in 1641 and "governour of Scotland" in 1644 (MT, ii.85,415). The Earl Marischal is termed by Spalding a "prime covenanter" (Ibid., ii.84 and vide DNB, x.1221-4) and, similarly, the Earl of Findlater a "grite covenanter" (MT, ii.451) though the latter was not one of the earliest subscribers (vide James Gordon, Op.Cit., i.61,109, iii.216,26, MT, i.310 and The Scots Peerage ed. J.B. Paul, iv.27-9).

Donald's father, Laurence Cargill, was personally associated (as has already been seen) was John, (Iyon) Earl of Kinghorne.¹ From the earliest days of the Covenant until his death in 1646,² he devoted all his energies and resources--ecclesiastical, political and military--to the furtherance of the Cause with the result that, "coming to his inheritance the wealthiest Peer in Scotland, he left it the poorest".³ It was on 4 May 1644 that he was "establishit governour in Abirdene, haueing ane garrisoun to attend him". It is to be noted that, while this appointment continued less than a month,⁴ it probably coincided with the last days of Cargill's residence there.

(IV) CONCLUSION

From the standpoint of background influences, the fact is significant that, for Donald Cargill, the preparatory years of formal education were centred not only in one of Scotland's most reputed burgh schools but in what was undoubtedly the most turbulent era of that burgh's history. Spalding quaintly and simply denominates it the time of "the trubles" and to the ardent royalist, Patrick Gordon, it was the period of "Britane's...dreadfull and neuer to be matched distemper".⁵ Louise B. Taylor depicts it as "a decade of Bands and Covenants" when "from the signing of the Covenant on 10 April 1639 the town

1. Vide supra, p.48.

2. Vide Iyon, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne by Ross Herald, p.53.

3. Ibid., and vide also the accounts of Spalding, Gordon and James Balfour.

4. His regiment was replaced by that of Lord Elcho on 1 June following.

5. Op.Cit., p.4.

became, as it were, the cockpit of Scotland".¹ James Stark, in explaining this strange "centrality" of the northerly and remote burgh of "Bon-Accord", points to the fact that it

"received more than its proportionate share of attention from both of the contending parties...owing, not to superabundance of interest in the struggle, but rather to lukewarmness, if not positive hostility, to the popular side. . . But unfortunately for their Gallio frame of mind, they were imperiously called upon to take sides".²

The truth of this is underlined by William Robbie who states that from the initial entrance into the burgh of the "covenanted" Montrose in March 1639 to the last attack of Huntly in May 1646, "the town was nine times taken and retaken by Royalists and Covenanters".³ At least four⁴--and perhaps six--of

1. ACL, ii.ix.

2. Op.Cit., p.145.

3. Op.Cit., p.209. These may be briefly outlined as follows:-

- a) The initial, unopposed entry of Montrose on 30 March 1639 (MT, i.154ff);
- b) The "Trot O' Turra" followed by Aboyne's plunder of Aberdeen on 14 May 1639 (Ibid., i.185ff);
- c) The Earl Marischal's entrance and fining of citizens on 23 May 1639 (Ibid., i.191ff);
- d) Aboyne's return; Jaffray and others imprisoned on 6 June 1639 (Ibid., i.203ff);
- e) Montrose's return; battle at the Bridge of Dee on 19 June 1639 (Ibid., i.212ff);
- f) Attack of the Gordons; Jaffray brothers and others imprisoned on 19 March 1644 (Ibid., ii.324ff);
- g) Brief occupation by Argyll on 2 May 1644 (Ibid., ii.353ff);
- h) Return of Montrose in opposition to the Covenanters on 13 September 1644 (Ibid., ii.406ff and vide John Barclay ed., Op.Cit., pp.50,156);
- i) Return of Argyll on 18 September 1644 (MT, ii.413ff);
- j) Huntly's occupation on 14 May 1646 (vide [Joseph Robertson], The Book of Bon-Accord, pp.76,7 and ACL, iii.51).

4. It is probable that he had completed his stay in Aberdeen prior to the attack of the Gordons in March 1644 (vide infra).

these nine alternations of command would have fallen within the apparent limits of Cargill's early educational programme, thus bringing him at the very outset of his life into that arena of intense conflict from which he was never to find an easy exit.

During this turbulent era the Covenanter influence in Aberdeen rose to its all-time peak. Its actual force, however,, is frequently lost sight of due to the fact that most historians, in emphatically drawing attention to the prevailing spirit of antipathy toward the movement on the part of the general populace, are inclined to minimise the measure of sympathy that was evoked. As has been seen, the friends of the covenants in and around Aberdeen were not only numerous but were drawn from every class. Even before 1638 there were men such as Patrick Leslie, Sir Thomas Burnet, John Row, Andrew Cant and William Robertson who were either professed presbyterians or had definite presbyterian propensities and who were unequivocally opposed to the Erastian innovations of James and Charles. Their hostility was born of conscientious conviction and (as was true of Burnet) in opposition to their "political instincts" and unmixed with any spirit of anti-royalism. If some, like Mr. Alexander Jaffray, were partially motivated by political ends, very many were not. Not infrequently the arch-royalists Spalding and the "parson of Rothiemay" testify in forthright manner to the high calibre of their personal character and to the respect they commanded in the burgh. Again, as has been indicated, it is a significant commentary on the general extent of non-conformist influence in Aberdeen to note that, throughout ten of the eleven years from 1634 to 1645

(with but a one-year exception), the provostship rested exclusively in the hands of those who stood on the side of presbytery and covenant--and this in spite of direct interference by the Crown in 1635 and by a sizable anti-covenanter faction within the Council in the critical year 1638.

The marked success of the Covenanter enterprise in Aberdeen may be traced principally to three factors:¹ the leavening effect of the wider associations of many of her leading citizens who served through the years as commissioners to Parliament, the Convention of Royal Burghs and the General Assembly; the powerful strength and support it received from the local nobility;² and the gradual influx of certain of non-conformity's most able ministers--one of the earliest to arrive being Samuel Rutherford whose voluble dialectic and literary contributions for some two years between 1636 and 1638 could not but have weakened the barricades of prelatic sentiment and conditioned the towns-folk for their sudden confrontation with the Covenant itself.

Aberdeen, therefore, as no other city, reflected sharply the conflict of the hour, paradoxically lending support to the very cause to which its long tradition and civic temperament had been warmly opposed. It would thus ably have provided the

-
1. The problem of enforced submission by over-zealous leaders cannot be considered a prime contributing factor to the real achievements of the Covenanters in Aberdeen as those who report such cases are always quick to declare the evanescent character of such conscripted loyalties.
 2. An entry in the Council Register refers to the Covenant as "the nobilities covenant" (ECRA-B, i.157).

lad from Rattray with an academic and social environment singularly adapted to extending the dimensions of his mind and spirit and to re-inforcing the foundations of his home instruction. That it did so would seem to be implicit in his subsequent move to the University of St. Andrews.

CHAPTER IV

B. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

II SCHOOL

(B) ST. ANDREWS

(I) Philosophy

(B) ST. ANDREWS

(I) Philosophy.

a. St. Salvator's College

Early in the year 1645--probably in the month of February or March¹--Donald Cargill was received into the second class of St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews.² The fact that he had not been "incorporated" into the University during the first year of his philosophy³ curriculum may have been due either to an unavoidable absence from St. Andrews on the day appointed for matriculation⁴ or to his having taken his

-
1. "The incorporation or matriculation ceremony, normally held just prior to the rectorial election in February or March, persisted until 1859" (R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, p.5n). Vide, for example, The Matriculation Roll of the University of St. Andrews during the decade between 1634 and 1643.
 2. Ibid., folio 271. His signature appears as "Donaldus Cargill" under the superscription: "Recepti in secundam classem eodem tempore"--that is, "anno 1645, in Collegio Salvatoriano". Vide Veterum Laudes ed. J.B. Salmond, p. 169.
 3. At this date both St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's were termed "philosophy colleges" in contradistinction to the "divinity" or "theological" colleges--as, for example, St. Mary's (R.G. Cant, Op.Cit., p.67). This distinction with reference to Cargill, is illustrated both in A Cloud of Witnesses ed. J.H. Thomson, p.502 and The Scots Worthies by John Howie, p.439.
 4. J.M. Anderson's succinct description of the system of matriculation at this time merits inclusion at this point: "Down to 1859 a student...matriculated once for all. By a single matriculation he practically became a life member of the University. He was at liberty to discontinue his studies and to resume them after any lapse of time at either College or in any Faculty without further enrolment. But, before he could be matriculated at all he had to be registered as a student in at least one class; in other words, he had to be a member of a College before he could be a member of the University. Matriculation in those days came after class-registration, and did not as a rule take place until the session was well advanced. It was, moreover, an act attended with a certain amount of ceremony. On the day and at the hour specially set apart for the purpose the new students assembled class by class in

bajan¹ course at another university--possibly the University of Aberdeen.² While the former explanation would appear the more probable both for geographical and ecclesiastical reasons, the possibility of his having taken his first year at Aberdeen cannot be lightly dismissed. As has been seen, indications (though unconfirmed) of a close relationship with the prominent Aberdeen branch of the Cargill family imply that he would

the Library, where their names were enrolled in the presence of the Rector. Those attending one or more junior classes were generally introduced by the Professor of Greek; the others were accompanied by their prospective Professors. Students who for any reason could not attend on the particular day appointed for the general matriculation were enrolled at other times singly or in groups. Those who had previously attended other Universities did not require to matriculate (having done so elsewhere already), but were simply 'received into the Album,' and held the status they had reached at their former University" (The Matriculation Roll of the University of St. Andrews, 1747-1897, pp.xxii,xxiii).

1. The term used at St. Andrews to denote the first year of study (vide R.G. Cant, Op.Cit., 16,7,68).
2. It will be recalled, first, that, according to the account in A Cloud of Witnesses, Cargill went from 'school' in Aberdeen to the 'University of St. Andrews' where he 'perfected his course of philosophy', and, second, that Patrick Walker inexplicably altered this account stating that all his 'courses of learning' were received at Aberdeen. The real solution may lie somewhere between these two conflicting versions--as, for example, in Cargill's having begun his University education at Aberdeen but having 'perfected' it at St.Andrews. D.H. Fleming has indicated that "there does not seem to be any trace of Cargill in the Registers of Aberdeen University" (SSC, ii.203). The very fact, of course, that he matriculated at St. Andrews is implicit proof that he could not have done so at Aberdeen since, if he had, he would not have re-matriculated at St.Andrews. But it is equally important to note that the absence of his name from the Aberdeen matriculation rolls is no indication per se that he could not have attended for a year without formally matriculating.

have been entitled to a five-year bursary to Marischal College-- a compelling inducement, if granted, to his continuation of study in Aberdeen. In addition to this, the general complexion of the burgh and its environs at this time could not have been unattractive to him. In October 1643 (when, approximately, he would have commenced his first year of university study¹) the Covenanted Party still exercised a dominant influence in Aberdeen and it continued to do so until the sudden and ill-disposed return of Montrose in September of the following year and only a few weeks prior to the opening of the new term at the University. The consequences of this dénouement in the political and ecclesiastical scene, coupled with a corresponding probable disappointment over Samuel Rutherford's rejection in the May preceding of a professorship in divinity at Marischal College, could well have turned the tide in his educational career, convincing him that the balance of academic and religious advantage had shifted from "King Charles' University of Aberdeen"² in the north to the "Oxford

-
1. Vide J.M.Anderson, Early Records of the University of St. Andrews, p.xxvi and R.G. Cant, Op.Cit., pp.53,73. His signature on the St.Andrews' copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, appended in 1644 (Some Subscribed Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant by D. Hay Fleming, p.9), further indicates that he belonged to the class which enrolled in 1643. All the names on p.7 of the signatures, with the exception of three untraced, from James Ireland to George Graham (eighteen in all), are shown on the Matriculation Roll of the first class for 1644. Cargill's name appears toward the middle of the group. A comparison of these signatures on the Covenant with the names entered on the Matriculation Roll mentioned show that probably all the signatures in both columns were attached in 1644. Fleming earlier suggested (Op.Cit.) that those in the second column (which includes Cargill's) may have been added in 1645.
 2. Vide FAMA, i.260ff.

of Scotland"¹ at St. Andrews.

Irrespective though of where his bajan course was secured--and for whatever reasons, it is clear that he attended St. Salvator's College in his semi-bachelor² year and, with little question, the bachelor and magistrand³ years as well, presumably receiving his Master of Arts degree there in 1647.⁴

The regency system, whereby a regent carried his students through their four consecutive years of study, was at this time in vogue at St. Andrews.⁵ This meant for Donald Cargill, therefore, a university education which was almost⁶ exclusively under the tutelage of Mr. Thomas Gleg, the "Regente Magistro" of the bajan class enrolled in October 1643.⁷ Of Gleg nothing of importance has been preserved save for some account of his demission from the College in 1649 because of "his loyaltie & affection to his Maiesties service and in his

-
1. J.W. Taylor, Saint Andrews in the Olden Time, p.2. But vide also R.G. Cant, Op.Cit., pp.24,5,58,60, his The College of St. Salvator, pp.3-5.
 2. The second year (vide R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, pp.17,68 and The College of St. Salvator, pp.177,8).
 3. The third and fourth years (Ibid.).
 4. Vide infra.
 5. And so continued until 1747 with but slight modification between 1702 and 1705 (vide R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, pp.52,3 & n and The College of St. Salvator, pp.174,5 and also J.B. Salmond ed., Op.Cit., pp.63,4).
 6. Vide infra.
 7. Vide the Matriculation Roll, fol.268. A Thomas Gleg--probably the same individual--was incorporated into the bajan class of St. Salvator's on 8 February 1637 under the regency of Mr. George Martin whose father, Dr. George Martin, was then Rector of the University (Ibid., fol.245).

station promoteing that pious & necessar engadgement in the year 1648 and disassenting from these who opposed the same".¹

In view of the fact that in 1661 the Scottish Parliament ordered full restitution to be made to him for the "great hardship losse of his means & patrimonie" during the years intervening--having been forced even "to leave his wiffe & familie and goe beyond Seas to eschew the snare of that evill tyme & maliciousness of his enemies",² it appears that he was in Cargill's day a man of moderate presbyterian persuasion and one, therefore, who, as an 'Engager' and having thereby incurred the severe censure of the Protesters' Commission, willingly conformed to the restoration policy of Charles II. The same Act of Parliament which granted him due "recompence" for his "great sufferings" refers to him as having been

thrid master of St^t Salvators Colledge in St^t Andrews in ano 1649 and had continewed ther formerlie a professor of phisick³ the space of diverse yeers Dureing the which tyme he endeavoured with faithfulness & painfulnes the education of such youths as wer intrusted to his Charge in these sciences ther~~in~~ taught and wes carefull so far as in him lay to have them bred in the principles of loyaltie & dew obedience to the Kings Maiestie.

-
1. APS, VII.198. For an account of the proceedings that led up to his demission vide EOD, iii.211,2. At the same time the Principal of St. Salvator's, Mr. John Barron, was suspended for having refused to acknowledge "the unlaw'llness of the late engagemment" (Ibid., p.211). Vide also FES, v.206 and DJL, pp.7,11.
 2. APS, VII.198.
 3. R.C. Buist observes "that 'phisick' is here used for natural philosophy rather than Medicine, with which Gleg's teaching had perhaps as little relation as the Essay which Alexander Pitcairn, who became Provost of St. Salvator's College in

If this may be deemed a trustworthy estimate of Gleg's discharge of academic duty while at St. Andrews, then it is clear that Cargill was, for a period of two or three years¹, schooled in a class-room where a royalism more consonant with Stuart than covenant ideals was freely and forthrightly propounded.

This spirit of royalism was no less strongly shared by Gleg's two principal colleagues at St. Salvator's College during the years of Cargill's term of study there--or rather, it was probably his sharing of their spirit that had contributed in the first place to his receiving the regency appointment sometime prior to 1643. One of these men was MR. GEORGE MARTIN. From Gleg's own entrance as a student into the Old College in 1636 it is evident that he received his philosophy instruction under Martin's regency. He was the second son of Dr. Martin who was Provost of St. Salvator's from 1624 until his death in 1645.² Walter Macfarlane characterises Regent Martin as "a learned, courteous, good and eloquent Man, specially in the Latin Tongue" and one who possessed "a singular

1691, published under the title, Compendiaria et perfacilis Physiologiae Idea Aristotelicae...una cum Anatome Cartesianismi..." (Votiva Tabella, p.203).

1. For some reason unexplained Gleg did not complete the fourth year as regent of Cargill's class. The Matriculation Roll shows that he became regent of the bajan class that was enrolled in 1646 (fol.274). A perusal of the Roll for this general period reveals that the professors of St. Salvator's seldom completed an entire four-year regency with one class, though the practice was more uniformly observed at St. Leonard's.
2. Vide Matriculation Roll, folios 245,61 and supra; also Walter Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections, ii.194,203 and FES, vii.411.

Conduct in overseeing and governing that Society".¹ His death occurred in the Spring of 1660² only a short time before the restoration of Charles II, yet--and notwithstanding his subscription of the Covenant in 1638³--his royalist proclivities may still be evinced both from his marriage to Barbara, daughter of Archdeacon Alexander Gledstanes and grand-daughter of Archibishop George Gledstanes,⁴ and from the fact that in 1657 he was deposed from his professorship by the Cromwellian authorities in favour of James Wood.⁵ For some three years after his deposition until his death he served in the South Church parish of the Presbytery of Dundee.⁶

The other important colleague of Gleg in St. Salvator's at this time was DR. JOHN BARRON. Though his brother,⁷

1. Op.Cit., ii.194.

2. Ibid.; not in 1645 as stated in SMS, p.215.

3. SMS, p.215.

4. Vide W. Macfarlane, Op.Cit., ii.194 and R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, p.59. Archdeacon Gledstanes was deposed from office in 1638 "on charges of drunkenness, Arminianism, etc." (FES, v.232; vide also SMS, p.211).

5. Though subsequently Wood himself exhibited a royalist spirit (*infra*). He did not immediately follow John Barron as Provost of St. Salvator's as is wrongly suggested by G. R. Kinloch (Ibid., p.215) and accepted by R.G. Cant (The College of St. Salvator, pp.180,1). W. Macfarlane reveals that Mr. George Martin held that office between Barron's demission in 1649 (vide EOD, iii.212) and Wood's appointment in 1660 (W. Macfarlane, Op.Cit., ii.194; vide also FES, v.319).

6. Ibid., v.319.

7. Vide James Gordon's History of Scots Affairs, ii.5 and FES, vii.361.

Robert, commanded much wider attention as one of the six renowned Aberdeen Doctors, John's influence was of no less importance at St. Andrews. He began his regency in 1628 when admitted to Kemback parish.¹ Little is recorded of him, however, until ten years later when he attended the famous Glasgow Assembly and when, at "The King's Commissioner's departing and protestation",² he voted against the Assembly's continuance--in spite of the fact that he, like Martin, had given subscription to the Covenant only a short time before.³ It is not surprising, therefore, that Robert Baillie, in reporting the incident, was constrained to remark: "bot what farder he meaned I could not learn, neither then, nor since".⁴ While at Kemback he seems to have taken greater interest in his teaching than in his preaching ministry for he was once reprimanded for pastoral negligence and eventually, in 1646, was removed from his parish and appointed solely to the principalship of the Old College.⁵ Only two years later though, he was suspended from his new office and in 1649, along with Gleg, he demitted it under pressure of the Protesters' Commission appointed to visit the College.⁶ Barron's royalist

1. Ibid., v.206.

2. James Gordon, Op.Cit., ii.5.

3. In company with Principal Robert Howie, Dr. Andrew Bruce and Dr. George Martin (LJR, i.97).

4. Ibid., i.144.

5. FES, v.206.

6. Ibid., and vide James Balfour, The Annales of Scotland, iii.410 and EOD, iii.212. It is not improbable that Rutherford's prominent part in these proceedings against Barron was in some measure strengthened by his vivid

predisposition is perhaps further evidenced by his marriage, while still Second Master of Salvator's, to Grissel, the eldest daughter of Provost George Martin.¹

Two regents of whom little is recorded but who were contemporaries of Gleg at the Old College merit brief mention in this connection. The first is MR. PATRICK JAMESON. Notwithstanding his death in 1642--at least a year before Cargill's enrolment at St. Salvator's, Jameson, like John Barron, brought to St. Andrews something of the Aberdeen tradition of royalist conformity. After receiving his M.A. at St. Andrews,² he pursued his divinity studies at the University of Aberdeen³ under either Dr. Robert Barron of Marischal College⁴ or the celebrated Dr. John Forbes of King's College.⁵ His Latin eulogy to Patrick Forbes, which he composed following the Bishop's death in 1635⁶ and probably a short time before his own return to St. Andrews to resume a regency post,⁷

recollections of those explosive encounters over prelacy and Arminianism which he had had with Robert Barron during his two-year 'exile' in Aberdeen.

1. W. Macfarlane, Op.Cit., ii.195.
2. FES, v.195.
3. Vide Funeral Sermons, Orations, Epitaphs, and Other Pieces on the Death of the Right Rev. Patrick Forbes, ed. C.F. Shand, pp.417,8.
4. FES, vii.361,2.
5. Ibid., vii.369. "From 1641 to 1661 King's and Marischal were united under the name of King Charles's university; but the union was merely formal (virtually no change took place in administration or policy)" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, i.37).
6. Vide C.F. Shand ed., Op.Cit., pp.417,8. Patrick Forbes received his divinity training under his kinsman, Andrew Melville, but later, even though personally opposed to many of the prelatic innovations of James and Charles, assumed a position of moderate Episcopacy (vide DNB, vii.407,8).
7. The Matriculation Roll shows that he was regent of the

would seem to indicate that he was himself of only moderate presbyterian sympathy.

The other lesser known regent of this same day is MR. THOMAS WOOD. Though his name does not appear in conjunction with a class in the Matriculation Roll, he did serve briefly as a regent in the Old College prior to his admission to Crail in May 1644.¹ His demission "on account of his health" in May 1649² suggests that he too-like Gleg and Barron--had incurred the opposition of the Protesting Party.

The only regent among Gleg's contemporaries at St. Salvator's who appears to have stood firmly within the presbyterian or covenanting ranks was MR. WILLIAM CAMPBELL who, according to the Matriculation Roll, must have commenced his regency in 1645.³ In 1649 he delivered the thesis at the "laureat" of the graduates of the Old College which he dedicated to Lieutenant-General David Leslie in honour of his recent success in quelling "ane insurrectione [of the 'Malignants'] in the north parts" of Scotland.⁴ This was, in effect, a public endorsement of the then powerful Anti-Engager Party and its force was the greater following as it did in the wake of the recent demissions of Gleg, Barron and Wood from

class of 1639-40 (fol.259). He was transferred to Crail in 1641 (FES, v.195) and died before the end of the following year.

1. Ibid., v.200.

2. Ibid.

3. Fol.273.

4. DJL, pp.3,6,7. "Mr Ja. Blaire, r. in St Leonards, [dedicated] his to Sr Archbald Jhonstone, L. Warestone, and Clerke of the Register" (Ibid., p.7).

regencies in the Old College because of their own 'malignancy'.¹ That Campbell's action was motivated by conviction rather than time-serving compromise is evident from the fact that thirteen years later in 1662 he and Principal James Wood (*infra*) were the only "measters of the Vniuersitie" who refused to "subscriue the oath of alleagance" to Charles II as prescribed by Archbishop Sharp.² He, like Wood,³ was probably deposed from office soon afterward.

With respect, then, to the ecclesiastical persuasions of the regents at St. Salvator's College in Cargill's day, it is evident that while they--of necessity--conformed to the presbyterianism prescribed by the covenants it was generally a conformity of moderate conviction, one that consisted more in an adherence to the letter than to the spirit of the law. It is therefore improbable that one could trace to any of them (with the possible exception of Campbell) a direct or positive

-
1. "One of the epithets hurled at the pre-Reformation Church in Scotland was 'the Kirk malignant' (cf. Ps. xxvi.5: 'Congregation of evil doers')." The name was revived by the Covenanters and applied to all opponents of the covenants--royalists and Independents alike (vide Marcus L. Loane, Makers of Religious Freedom in the Seventeenth Century, p.82n). (Concerning the demissions at St. Leonard's, vide *infra*.)
 2. DJL, p.152. There is nothing to warrant the assertion of John Herkless that Campbell, in procuring and prosecuting his regency, "had satisfied the Episcopal requirements of Sharp, [even] though his early zeal had flowed in another direction" (Richard Cameron, pp.27,8). At the time of Campbell's admission to St. Salvator's, Sharp was but a regent himself, and in St. Leonard's at that (vide *infra*).
 3. DJL, p.166.

influence of sufficient import as to account for or contribute measurably to the strict covenanting position later adopted by Donald Cargill.

Three men who received appointments to regencies in the years immediately following his graduation from St. Salvator's, but with whom he may well have enjoyed associations during the time of his divinity study, could, however, have provided in part the influence that contributed to his ultimate link with the non-conforming Covenanters.¹ There was MR. ALEXANDER PITCAIRN who became a regent in 1647 and continued in that capacity until 1656.² His later history is one of strong non-conformity to restored Episcopacy and of eventual flight to Holland at the height of the Covenanter persecution. After

-
1. The only regent among those of this group and period who later conformed to Episcopacy was MR. ALEXANDER EDWARD. He had signed the St. Andrew's copy of the Solemn League and Covenant in late 1643 or early 1644 as a student of St. Mary's (Vide p.29 of Signatures). His regency commenced no later than the Autumn of 1648 (Matriculation Roll, fol. 278) and seems to have continued until the close of the Spring or Autumn term of 1652--he was admitted to Dunino parish 13 October 1652 (vide SMP, p.64 and DJL, p.49) since the following year Mr. David Bruce, son of Principal Andrew Bruce, succeeded him in the regency (DJL, p.65). In 1662, as one of the newly 'conformed' ministers, he was present at the "first diocesan assembly" to be held at St. Andrews following the Edict of Eviction (DJL, pp.155,6). The next year (1663) he was transferred to the parish of Crail where he ministered until his death in 1684 (FES, v.193).
 2. Vide FES, iv.202 and the Matriculation Roll in which are recorded three of his regencies (folios 277,85,6). It will be noted that he began his teaching in the Autumn of 1647, the probable year of Cargill's graduation from St. Salvator's.

the Revolution he was appointed Principal, successively, of the colleges of St. Salvator's and St. Mary's.¹ Another regent of like influence was MR. WILLIAM TULLIDAFF, Gleg's successor,² who taught at St. Salvator's from 1650 to 1657.³ Deprived in 1662, he was ^{once} indulged but was later fined, deposed and imprisoned "for failing to keep the Council's instructions".⁴ After the Settlement he became Principal of St. Leonard's College.⁵ The other man who must be mentioned in this connection is ROBERT McWARD, not so much for his influence as regent (though that cannot be discounted) as for that of fellow-student of Donald Cargill at St. Salvator's. In 1642--one year in advance of Cargill--he entered the first class.⁶ Before his departure in November of the following year to serve for a time as amanuensis to Samuel Rutherford at the Westminster Assembly,⁷ it is probable that Cargill had made McWard's acquaintance and, furthermore, that their friendship resumed on his return from

1. FES, vii.411,21.

2. John Lamont records: "1649--After Mairtimis, Mr William Dillodaffe [sic] a Cuper of Fyfe man borne, was admitted a regent in the Old Colledge of St Androus. He did succeide to Mr Thomas Gleige" (DJL, p.11). Tullidaff had subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant on 31 December 1648 as a student in the New College (vide St. Andrews' copy, p.49 of signatures).

3. FES, v.150 & vii.413, and vide the Matriculation Roll for 1651,5,7.

4. FES, iii.102 & v.150. Vide also J.K. Hewison, The Covenanters, ii.172, SMS, p.221 and The Life of Mr Robert Blair ed Thomas M'Crie, pp.468,530.

5. FES, vii.413.

6. Matriculation Roll, 28 April 1643.

7. DJL, p.16.

London. Two years after his graduation in 1648, McWard was appointed Regent of Humanity at St. Salvator's¹ in which office he continued until 1653 when he was admitted to a regency in Glasgow University.² During these years he pursued his divinity studies as well³ since he was eligible for licensing at St. Andrews in 1655,⁴ and thus could have maintained close ties with Cargill--at least until Cargill's completion of his own divinity work in 1652. In the years following, until their Restoration evictions, they conducted concurrent ministries in Glasgow as members of the Protesting Party.

b. St. Leonard's College

The professors who flourished at St. Leonard's College during Cargill's university days were for the most part royalists, politically, and nominal or convinced episcopalians, ecclesiastically.

-
1. "Mr Robert Makewarde (sometymes seruant to Mr. Sa Rutherford, m. of St Androus), entred to be a professor of Humanitie in the Old Colledge of St Androus. He did succed Mr Ro. Hynnyman, now professor of Philosophie in St Leonards colledge" (*Ibid.*).
 2. LJR, iii.240,1 & n. He demitted the regency toward the beginning of 1655 "being unable to deal more with his charge" (*Ibid.*, iii.285 and vide DNB, xii,730,1). Although Baillie considered his scholarship as being "nothing fitter" than that of Mr. Hew Smith and Mr. John Glen (two young Glasgow candidates for the regency), Robert Wodrow writes: "Mr. Craighead said, that Mr M'Ward and Mr John Baird, when they were at the colledge of St Andrews, were reckoned the two best schollars in all the Colledge of St Andrews" (*Analecta*, iii.55).
 3. He subscribed the Solemn League and Covenant on 31 December 1648 (vide St. Andrews' copy, p.49 of signatures) which proves that he entered St. Mary's immediately upon his graduation from St. Salvator's.
 4. Vide SMP, pp.69,70.

During his years of philosophy study all but one of those who held the regencies there were destined for notable careers within the ecclesiastical order established by Charles in 1660. The explanation of a faculty that was weighted so heavily on the side of prelatic conformity in the midst of an era dominated by a covenanting clergy and laity is undoubtedly to be found fundamentally in DR. ANDREW BRUCE who was minister of St. Leonard's parish and Principal of the College from 1630 until he died of "the pest" in 1647.¹ His subscription of the Covenant in 1638² could have been little more than a formality for the whole course of his career, like that of his predecessor, Dr. Peter Bruce³ had, up until that time, been conducted within the general framework of Episcopacy. Closely allied with him in spirit and calling was MR. WALTER COMRIE. After serving as regent at St. Leonard's for some three years⁴ he was admitted in 1644 to the parish as Bruce's ministerial colleague and four years later, on Bruce's death, he became the parish minister. There he continued until the Restoration when he was appointed Professor of Divinity at St. Mary's and, in 1666, Principal of the College.⁵ The successor to Bruce in the principalship of St. Leonard's was MR. GEORGE WEMYS. From

1. LJR.B, iii.6 and FES, vii.412,3.

2. Vide supra p.117, n.3.

3. FES, vii.412.

4. The Matriculation Roll shows that he was regent from 1641 to 1642 (fol.263) and it is probable that he continued in this office until admitted to St. Leonard's parish in 1644.

5. FES, v.243 & vii.420 and vide also The College of St. Leonard ed. J. Herkless and R.K. Hannay, p.72.

1647 through the ensuing fifteen years¹ he superintended the affairs of the College without deviation from the moderate course established by his predecessors in office--a pattern which he had undoubtedly set during his preceding regency of about twenty years² and which therefore had won the approval of his electors to that office. After the Restoration he was a natural choice to succeed the deceased James Wood--the pronounced non-conformist admitted in the days of the Commonwealth--in the principalship of St. Salvator's.³

This coterie of men of conformist proclivity included within their ranks yet two others who held regencies during this period. MR. DAVID NEVAY may be mentioned first. For ten years--from 1640 to 1649⁴--he maintained his regent's post at St. Leonard's but it came to a premature close in consequence of his being charged before St. Andrews Presbytery of having

vented diverse things contrar to the established order of this Kirk, as namelie: 1. That the Church constitutions have no strength, and are not obligatorie vntill they be confirmed by the civill magistrate. 2. That Erastians deserve not to be called Sectaries.⁵

1. FES, vii.413.

2. Vide RGS, viii. no.1432; Matriculation Roll, folios 241, 57,69; and also SMS, p.117 where Wemys is shown to have been an elder delegate to the Provincial Assembly which convened 2 April 1639.

3. DJL, p.174, and vide infra.

4. Vide Matriculation Roll, folios 262,70,9.

5. SMP, p.45. The date of the entry is 5 July 1648.

In February 1649 he was convicted of the charges levelled against him and deposed from his office¹ --similar action, as has been seen, being subsequently taken against Gleg, Barron and Wood of St. Salvator's. In 1653 he was serving as Sheriff Depute of Angus by appointment of Cromwell² but six years later he was admitted to Glenisla parish (Presbytery of Meigle) where he was still ministering in 1686.³

It is probably MR. JAMES SHARP, however, who reflects most clearly the dominant influence that pervaded the College of St. Leonard during these years. If Andrew Lang is correct in stating that "The history of St. Andrews, from 1660 to 1679, is the history of Archbishop Sharpe"⁴ it is hardly less correct to say that the history of St. Leonard's from 1642 to 1647 is the history of Regent Sharp. Born and reared in Aberdeen and destined early to a churchman's career,⁵ he entered upon his philosophy study at King's College receiving his M.A. in 1637.⁶ His divinity training was begun under Drs. John Forbes and Robert Barron, with respect to which Stephen remarks:

the fact of his having prosecuted his theological studies

-
1. Vide EOD, iii.211 and DJL, p.4. His successor was Mr. Alexander Jameson (vide infra).
 2. Ibid., p.54
 3. FES, v.261.
 4. St. Andrews, p.272.
 5. Vide [David Simson], A True and Impartial Account of the Life of...Dr. James Sharp..., pp.26,7; the Life of James Sharp, [Alexander Hamilton?], pp.7-9; and T. Stephen's The Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp, p.2. (Stephen's Life is based largely on that of Simson.)
 6. Officers and Graduates of University & King's College Aberdeen ed. P.J. Anderson, p.187.

under the superintendence of these ornaments of the Scottish episcopal church, is a sufficient guarantee that his principles were catholic and orthodox [that is, episcopal].¹

It is therefore not surprising that, with the advent of the Covenant Controversy in 1639, Sharp took leave of Scotland and found temporary refuge with clergymen of kindred spirit in England.² In the course of his three-year 'exile', bonds of friendship were formed with "several Eminent and Learn'd Divines, particularly with those great Lights, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Taylor".³ There, according to Stephen, he would probably have taken orders that were offered him in the Church of England⁴ had it not been for an almost fatal attack of "a violent Ague" which, combined with the gathering storm of opposition to English episcopacy soon to culminate in the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, resulted in his decision "both by Advice and Inclination" to return to Scotland.⁵ By a strange touch of irony his immediate future was made secure by Alexander Henderson for, on his recommendation,⁶ Sharp was elected in 1642⁷ to a regency in St. Leonard's College--

-
1. Op.Cit., pp.2,3. David Simson (Op.Cit., pp.27,8) declares that Barron "commonly call'd him after a familiar way, Mi Jacobe Sharp, Sharp, signifying the Opinion he had of his Conception and Readiness". Sharp would have been a younger student-contemporary of Patrick Jameson at the divinity school (vide supra).
 2. Ibid., p.29. According to Stephen, he was reportedly expelled from the University because of his refusal to sign the Covenant (Op.Cit., p.4).
 3. [David Simson], Op.Cit., p.29.
 4. Op.Cit., pp.4,5 and vide [David Simson] Op.Cit., p.29.
 5. Ibid.
 6. [Alexander Hammilton?], Op.Cit., pp.13-5
 7. Vide the Matriculation Roll, fol.267.

the very year when Henderson's name was elevated to special honour at St. Andrews in gratitude for his liberal 'benefaction' of one thousand pounds to the completion of the University Library building.¹ The viewpoint he represented during the ensuing five years could scarcely have won the approval of Henderson but, as has been seen, it was not incompatible with that which characterised the academic circle in which he moved. Nevertheless they were for him unsettled years which harboured conflict and anxiety of soul. They witnessed his spirited but damaging altercation with Mr. John Sinclair (infra)--his one colleague at St. Leonard's who gave unequivocal allegiance to the Covenant--whome he engaged in heated debate "on a Lord's Day, at the college table, in the presence of the Principal [Andrew Bruce] and the rest of the Regents"² openly opposing the Covenant and maintaining "the divine appointment of Episcopacy" and sealing his argument "with a Box on the Ear" of Sinclair.³ Moreover, these years are reported to have witnessed a scandalous relationship between Sharp and Isobel Lindsay, sister-in-law of a John Allan with

1. Vide Henderson's Benefaction by J.B. Salmond and G.H. Bushnell, p.47 and EOD, iii.204,5.

2. [Alexander Hamilton?], Op.Cit., p.16

3. T. Stephen, Op.Cit., p.6 and [David Simson], Op.Cit., p.31. Despite Sharp's denunciation of the Covenant and notwithstanding Stephen's affirmation that he did not sign it in 1639 (Op.Cit., p.4), he must have signed it in 1643 or he would not have retained his regency. The Minutes of St. Andrews Presbytery of 3 May contain this resolution: "Vniversitie to subscryve the Covenant.-- All the members within the Vniversitie, masters and students, are appointed to subscryve the Covenant againe, and Mr. Samuell Ruthfird, Rector, is appointed, befor the subscription thereof, to have some explication of quhat points in it may be difficile to these of younger yeirs and meaner capacities" (SMP, p.12). While it is true that the St. Andrews' copy of the

whom he then resided.¹ Perhaps, therefore, there is real significance in the fact that on Rutherford's return to St. Andrews from the Westminster Assembly in November 1647 Sharp quit his regency to accept ordination to the parish of Crail.² If, as Alexander Hamilton avers, Rutherford readily discerned Sharp's prelatie views, his presence could not have been altogether congenial to Sharp.

Solemn League and Covenant does not contain the signatures of the professors and students of St. Leonard's College (as C.J. Lyon has observed in his History of St. Andrews, Episcopal, Monastic, Academic, and Civil..., ii.23n), this does not necessarily imply that they were exonerated from signing it in view of the Assembly's uncompromising directive on 18 October (1643) to the entire Presbytery "to proceed with all convenient diligence to the subscribing thereof by all", and on 29 November following, their "requyring inspection to be taken if all in ther owne paroches have subscribed and sworne the same, and to send over the names of refusers or delayers to them". The latter injunction even required the Presbytery "to vrge all English in ther bounds to subscribe" with like penalty to be imposed against "all such as refuses or delays" (SMP ed., Op.Cit., pp.15,6).

1. [Alexander Hamilton?], Op.Cit., pp.18-23.
2. He was ordained 27 January 1648 (FES, vii.326). The statement of John Herkless concerning the attitude toward the Covenant in the College of St. Leonard demands notice at this point. He writes: "It is not likely...that the college was opposed to the covenant; since the zeal of Rutherford would have coerced the members to conform, or would have brought them to punishment" (The College of St. Leonard, p.63). This may have indeed been generally true of the College after 1648 for Andrew Bruce had died by then, Walter Comrie had been transferred to the college kirk (vide Ibid., pp.70,1) as had Sharp to Crail and 'punishment' was soon to be meted out to David Nevay (as also to his counterparts at St. Salvator's). It is, however, not an accurate evaluation of the College's attitude toward the Covenant between the years 1643 and 1647. During these years the "zeal of Rutherford" was being vented at the Westminster Assembly and any 'coerced conformity' to the Covenant that existed would appear to have held no more than nominal significance. Certainly Rutherford's predecessor, Robert Howie (*infra*), had then neither the strength nor the will to strive for

Here, indeed, may have been born the hostility to Rutherford that was never healed.¹ It is again ironic that the man who recommended Sharp to Crail parish was Mr. James Bruce, minister of Kingsbarns and another vigorous supporter of the Covenant. According to Hammilton, it was this act that "he repented most, of anything he had done all his life, that he should have procured that presentation unto him".²

The one remaining regent at St. Leonard's who flourished during Cargill's university days is MR. JOHN SINCLAIR--the colleague with whom Sharp had conducted more than verbal battle. An earlier encounter with Sharp, however, had been no less unpleasant. It had been his (Sinclair's) misfortune to see his rival receive the appointment to the regency for which (in 1642) they had both disputed.³ Yet, notwithstanding this disappointment, he succeeded later that same year to the regency demitted by James Guthrie on his acceptance of a call to the parish of Lauder,⁴ and for the next four years⁵ he wore the

more than that--indeed, his death may have occurred quite some time before Rutherford's succession to this office (vide J.K. Cameron, Letters of John Johnston and Robert Howie, p.lxxix). It was only because of circumstances such as these that Sharp and his colleagues were permitted to enjoy such measure of intellectual freedom in a day of Covenant supremacy.

1. [Alexander Hammilton?], Op.Cit., p.24
2. Ibid., pp.25,6 and FES, v.215,6.
3. Ibid., p.15
4. FES, ii.153. The Matriculation Roll shows that Guthrie was regent at St. Leonard's during the academic year 1638-1639 (fol.253).
5. He was admitted to Ormiston parish 14 January 1647 (FES, i.340 & vii.543). This might imply that he was forced by the uncongeniality of his colleagues to demit his regency in favour of a parish ministry.

ecclesiastical mantle that Guthrie had laid down. David Simson, Sharp's biographer and apologist, describes Sinclair as "a Ring Leader and Champion for the covenant".¹ The description must have been apt if it may be judged in the light of his subsequent ministry at Ormiston as a member of the Protesting Party and eventually as a deposed exile in Delft "where he prepared many of his countrymen sojourning there, for the ministry".² But it was as regent in St. Leonard's that he had first tasted the cup of 'ecclesiastical exile'.

In concluding this survey of influence that emanated from St. Leonard's during Cargill's student days at St. Andrews, brief mention must be accorded four men who held regencies there while he was engaged in divinity study, that is, from about 1648 to 1652. MASTERS ROBERT HONYMAN and JAMES WEMYS, first of all, were two who conformed to Episcopacy after the Restoration even though they had formerly given subscription to the Solemn League and Covenant.³ Honyman held two different regencies at the University--one at St. Salvator's prior to 1650⁴ (where Cargill would have known him both as student and regent) and a second at St. Leonard's from 1650 until his ad-

1. Op.Cit., p.31.

2. FES, i.340 & vii.543.

3. In late 1643 or early 1644 (vide St. Andrews' copy, pp.7,27 of signatures)--Honyman as a student at St. Salvator's which he entered in 1640 (Matriculation Roll, 4 February 1641) and Wemys at St. Mary's. Wemys renewed his subscription at the close of 1648, again as a student at St. Mary's (vide St. Andrews' copy, p.49 of signatures).

4. Though if this regency continued for more than two years, it overlapped his term of study at St. Mary's. He was succeeded at St. Salvator's in April 1650 by Robert McWard (D.J.L, p.16).

mission to Newburn parish in April 1653.¹ Thereafter, till his death in 1686, he held successive pastorates at Dysart, Cupar and St. Andrews.² Nevertheless, in spite of his conformity and of the fact that he was the brother of Bishop Andrew Honyman of Orkney, William Row intimates that he "had preached against bishops while he was minister at Dysart" and that the sermon he preached at his brother's consecration in 1664 "did not please the Prelates".³

The conformity of Mr. James Wemys, however, appears to have been unreserved. Prior to his admission to the college kirk of St. Leonard in December 1662⁴ with the principalship of the College in conjunction,⁵ he seems to have held regencies both in St. Leonard's and the Old College--possibly as early as 1647.⁶ If his ecclesiastical position before the Restoration adumbrated what it was thereafter, it was clearly one that favoured Episcopacy. He was still regent at St. Leonard's in 1662 when he assisted at the consecration of Dr.

1. *Ibid.* and FES, v.224.

2. *Ibid.*, v.238. He died at about the age of 62 years.

3. *IRB*, p.467.

4. 21 December (SMP, p.79). According to John Lamont he was admitted on 8 January 1663 (DJL, p.158) whose account William Row apparently followed (*IRB*, p.433).

5. FES, vii.413. James Wemys's replacement of Mr. George Wemys in the principalship of St. Leonard's was followed by the latter being appointed Principal of St. Salvator's on 1 November 1664 (*Ibid.*). Lamont seems to suggest, on the other hand, that George Wemys was Principal of St. Leonard's College up until his appointment at St. Salvator's (DJL, p.174).

6. The "M. Jacobo Weymis" who was regent at St. Leonard's in 1620 (RGS, viii.no.42) is probably a different individual. This may also be true of the "Magistro Jacobo Wemeco" who was regent in 1647-48 (Matriculation Roll, fol.276) if the

George Wishart and Mr. David Mitchell to the respective bishoprics of Edinburgh and Aberdeen "by vshering in the Archbishope [Sharpe] to the place, and by presenting the booke to the seuerall persons that were consecrat".¹ Some three months later he dedicated to Sharp his laureation thesis, De Majestate Regis, which he delivered at St. Leonard's and in which he "relleshed mutch both of loyaltie and episcopacie" contending inter alia that "the Word of God was the rule of faith, bot not of maners; and that ane oath was no longer obleidging then the pleasure of the magistrat that did cause take the same".² He retained the principalship of St. Leonard's until his deposition at the Revolution.³

Two regents at St. Leonard's during this period who give undivided allegiance to the principles of the covenants were MASTERS JAMES BIAIR and ALEXANDER JAMESON. James Blair was the eldest son of the renowned Robert Blair who served the First Charge of St. Andrews from the dawn of the Covenant to

present subject bearing this name was one of the "three younger men" who, about a year later, were disputing for the regency which had then been only recently demitted by David Nevay (DJL, p.4)—an appointment which Wemyss did not secure. If it was he who was regent in 1652 and again in 1656 (vide Matriculation Roll), some difficulty still persists in determining precisely the year or years when he was "Measter of Humanitie in the Old Colledge" previous to March 1657 when he succeeded the deceased Mr. William Preston to a regency in St. Leonard's (DJL, p.97).

1. Ibid., p.147 and vide also FES, vii.331,42.
2. DJL, p.152.
3. FES, vii.413. He died in October 1696. The "James Wemyss" who was minister at Kirkliston parish from 1663 to 1688 was a different individual despite the evident confusion in the Fasti where both are listed as having been married to a 'Helen Stirling' (FES, vii.399,413).

its setting in 1660.¹ Having been born about the same year as Cargill,² he was a fellow-student of his in both the Old and the New Colleges.³ After a regency at St. Leonard's covering several years,⁴ undertaken concomitantly with his divinity training, he was ordained and admitted to Dysart Parish (Presbytery of Kirkcaldy) in April 1655, but after a ministry of only six months' length he "died in his father's house at St. Andrews".⁵

Jameson's regency, in succession to that of Nevay, lasted for nearly a decade--from 1649 till his admission to the parish of Govan in 1659.⁶ From its outset, his academic excellence and ecclesiastical propensities were such that he commanded the respect and won the favour and friendship of Samuel Rutherford. Not long after his admission, according to an account preserved by Wodrow, Jameson was charged to deliver the thesis at a College laureation ceremony. At the close, in replying to a counter-argument put to him by Rutherford, his reasoning was

1. DJL, p.87

2. James died in 1655 aged about 29 (Ibid., p.94 and FES, v. 89).

3. The names of both appear in the same column among the initial St. Salvator's signatories of the Solemn League and Covenant (St. Andrews' copy, p.7 of signatures).

4. From 1650 to 1654 (vide Matriculation Roll, folios 280,8).

5. IRB, pp.320-2 and DJL, p.94. His successor at Dysart was the moderate conformist, Robert Honyman (supra; FES, v.89).

6. In the competition for the regency demitted by Nevay in 1649, Jameson and William Tullidaff (supra) "werre judged pares by the wholle meitting, so that after longe debate, they werre forcet to cast lotts, and the lott fell vpon Mr Alex. Jameson, wha did succeide to the forsaide vacant regents place" (DJL, p.4). For a fuller account of this episode, vide Robert Wodrow's Analecta ed. John Smith, i.140 & iii.75,6. Vide also the Matriculation Roll for 1653 and 1657, and FES, iii.411,2.

so keen and Rutherford so impressed that he was afterward constrained to tell his younger colleague that he had "never heard theses better impugned and better answered" than he had that day.¹ And in the estimate of Mr. Alexander Hastie,² Wodrow's friend, "there was not a more learned man in the whole University of Saint Andrews then Mr. Jamison was".³ In due course Jameson allied himself with the Protesters and to that cause he remained dedicated to the end of his days--as minister at Govan from 1659 until his deposition in 1662 (and thus once again closely associated with Cargill who was then at the Barony), and later as a non-indulged field conventicler and Society correspondent.⁴

With Jameson, then, is brought to completion the roster of regents or professors who commanded the scene of influence in the philosophy schools of St. Andrews in the day of Donald Cargill. That it was a divided scene is manifest; that it was divided in favour of royalism and prelacy is equally evident. To this paradox--for it was a day of Covenant triumph--and its implication for Cargill a closing word will be devoted.

c. Conclusion

Basic to an understanding and appreciation of the period under review is the recognition of the fact that, despite the

1. John Smith ed., *Op.Cit.*, iii.77

2. *Ibid.*, iii.76. Hastie was James Wodrow's successor in the East parish or Outer High Kirk in Glasgow (FES, iii.462,3).

3. John Smith ed., *Op.Cit.*, iii.76.

4. Vide FES, iii.411,2. He died in 1675 at about 49 years of age and was therefore of approximately the same age as Honyman, Blair and Cargill.

overturning of the 'old order' in 1638 by the forces of the Covenant, certain of its established features continued on for a time virtually unaffected and unchanged. A case in point existed at St. Salvator's and St. Leonard's where in 1642 the Commissioners of Assembly, after enacting radical educational reforms, left the execution of those reforms largely in the hands of the existing provosts and regents whose outlook and sympathies--notwithstanding their signing the covenants--still rested with the old regime.¹ Not, in fact, until the new appointments that followed the 'purge of Engagers' in 1648 and 1649--a full decade after the dawn of the Covenanter Era--did a definite presbyterian and anti-Erastian spirit begin to preponderate in the University. Thus it was that Cargill received his philosophy instruction in an academic environment that was dominated by professors whose roots were still sunk in the old tradition even though they lived and taught within the discipline of a covenanted Kirk and during the "Golden Age of Presbytery"² in Scotland. To some extent, it is true, that pro-prelatic environment was

-
1. Robert Baillie relates that, while at first the citizenry of St. Andrews (as of Aberdeen) refused to sign the Covenant, their opposition was short-lived (vide LJB, i.62,4,70 and A Solemn League and Covenant (St. Andrews' Copy), p.1 of signatures). Their initial reluctance was due in part to the fact that the burgh had long been the seat of the primate of Scotland and therefore harboured sympathies that could not be suddenly extirpated by dictum or by force. Among those in whom they lingered long were the Masters of the Old College and St. Leonard's.
 2. The years between 1638 and 1649 (H.M.B. Reid, A Cameronian Apostle, p.212). By act of the Commissioners, the Masters of the University were to be tried and examined "if they be correspondent to the order of the erection...and...to the Confession of Faith and Acts of this Kirk" (EOD, iii.204).

tempered by the presence of such men as regents William Campbell and John Sinclair, but it was 1642 before Sinclair entered upon his duties at St. Leonard's and 1645 before Campbell came on the scene at St. Salvator's.¹

Perhaps nowhere was the force and character of this prevailing emphasis more pronounced than in the classroom of Regent Gleg. There Donald Cargill, in company with the other 'charges' of this ultra-royalist pedagogue, was "bred in the principles of loyalty & dew obedience to the Kings Maiestie"--principles which, when defined in terms of Gleg's own "loyalty & affection to his Maiesties service...in...promoteing that pious & necessar engadgement" and in terms of the liberal encomium and "recompence" accorded him by a beholden Restoration Parliament, are seen to have been consonant--if not synonymous--with those underlying the Stuart monarchical ideal. This being the case, the fact that he was able to continue without hindrance until 1648 to propound such principles at the College only reflects the more pointedly the degree of apathy or disaffection that was then persisting among the masters toward the prelati² and Erastian proscriptions of the covenants and the lip-service

-
1. Nor was the Covenanter influence of the Divinity School pronounced at this time as Rutherford was in attendance at the Westminster Assembly from November 1643 till November 1647; Colville was of only moderate presbyterian sympathy; and Wood, while strongly presbyterian, was not appointed until 1645 (vide infra).
 2. While the National Covenant was not explicitly committed to the "extirpation of..Prelacy" as was its successor, the Solemn League and Covenant, "there was an undermining of it, as presbyteries assumed the episcopal powers of ordaining and admitting ministers to parishes, so 'restoring that

that was paid those documents by so many.

Some insight into the effect of this emphasis upon Cargill may be gained by viewing it in the light of two factors: his attitude toward the covenants during these years and toward the prospect of a ministerial vocation.

First of all, his attitude toward the covenants. Due, perhaps, to his pre-disposition from youth in favour of covenant principles, the ultra-royalist indoctrination he received while studying for his degree at St. Salvator's evidently did more to alienate than to attract his sympathy and support. This is implied in his second signing¹ of the Covenant toward the close of 1648--after the completion of his philosophy course but while Gleg and his colleagues were still in office. His action on that occasion specifically constituted a public disavowal of the Engagement proceedings as being neither "pious" nor "necessar"² and was, ipso facto, a direct repudiation of the loyalist 'breeding' he had received in classroom and college. That it was the natural outgrowth of a considered position and did not spring from any sudden, youthful impulse or shallow precedent is also implied by his associating a short time after--probably toward the close of his divinity course--with the newly organised Party of 'Protest' whose very raison d'etre was to see the ranks of the Covenant

great liberty to the Church again'" (SBSH, p.104). For a stronger statement of the anti-prelatic spirit of the National Covenant, vide W.M. Campbell, The Triumph of Presbyterianism, pp.ix,x.

1. Vide infra. The first signing (probably at the time of his matriculation at St. Salvator's) was a formality required of all entrants.
2. SMP, pp.47,8.

purged of the royalist 'malignants' who had been restored to power by the intervening repeal of the Act of Classes and the adoption of the Public Resolutions by Church and State. Existing evidence thus testifies to an unbroken and ever-developing attachment on Cargill's part to the principles enshrined in the covenants--notwithstanding his lengthy exposure to the 'malignant' influence of the Old College professors--and suggests, in turn, that he must first have 'earned' his distinction as the "apostle of religious rebellion"¹ as early as 1648 when he found himself driven by reaction against their views further into the folds of the Covenant.

At the same time the impact of the masters' influence appears to have been registered at a second point. In his brief Relation regarding the 'remarkable' calling of Donald Cargill to the ministry, Robert Hamilton makes special reference to the state of vocational indecision that attended him throughout his philosophy schooling and, indeed, for quite some time thereafter.² The period of his greatest conflict and crisis came, the biographer says, shortly after his graduation when, much against his will, his "godly and religious" father began to press home upon him with earnest and relentless entreaty the claims of the ministerial employ, with the result that the more his father 'urged' the more Cargill resisted, contending "that the work of the ministry was too great

1. Vide J.K. Hewison, The Covenanters, ii.157.

2. A Cloud of Witnesses, J.H. Thomson ed., p.502.

a weight for his weak shoulders". Hamilton explains the youth's recusancy subjectively, looking within him to the "great tenderness of spirit" of which he was possessed, but, in so doing, he does not explain objectively why, of all possible 'employments', Cargill considered only the ministry too sore a burden for his tender spirit to bear. The answer to this latter problem, however, is elsewhere suggested. Specifically, it was those contrary pressures of the hour which were then so strong at St. Andrews--the same pressures, significantly, which nearly forced him to an 'eleventh hour' declination of his Barony call in 1655.¹ Under such a 'weight', it is not strange that a lad of strong covenant convictions should so long have viewed the claims of the ministry with deep misgivings and pronounced reserve--and the more especially at a time when he lacked any assurance of the Divine bidding to enter upon it. Doubtless, therefore, the most 'weighty' deterrent of all was that emphasis brought to bear so forcefully upon him by the masters themselves for, aside from its most immediate and direct effect upon him, it was a stern portent of the conflict and opposition that one of his persuasion could expect to meet in undertaking the wider commitments of the divinity calling.

In the end, two forces seem to have combined to change his mind: a challenge from the Prophecy of Ezekiel and the turn of events at Preston, Wigan and Warrington. The former, which

1. Ibid., pp.502,3.

mediated to him the assurance of a Divine call, will receive subsequent attention. The latter, which concerns that sudden and signal shift of scene that followed the rout of the Engagers by Cromwell (17-19 August 1648), demands present comment for by it, after ten years of imperfect command, the triumph of the Covenant appeared to have become complete and unconditional, the expurgation of 'malignant' royalists from positions of public trust was got underway, and the prospect and promise of a more felicitous, covenanted ministry would for Cargill have seemed assured. With the way thus providentially prepared--viz., through the nation at large, in his possessing a summons both human and Divine, and with Principal Rutherford once again in his seat of office--he confidently set his face toward St. Mary's "to betake himself to that study" daring never again to "refuse his father's desire".

CHAPTER V

B. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

II. SCHOOL

(B) ST. ANDREWS

(ii) Divinity

- a. The Academic Primacy of St. Mary's
- b. Enrolment and Vocational Crises
- c. The Masters' Influence
- d. Conclusion

(B) ST. ANDREWS

(II) DIVINITY

a. The Primacy of St. Mary's College.

It was altogether natural that a Perthshire lad, springing from the parish of Rattray and bent upon a sound education in the arts, should make choice of the University of St. Andrews for the realisation of his ambition, for, geographically, it was the nearest of the universities. If, previous to his day, it had been somewhat less than the academic equal of its counterpart in Aberdeen,¹ this had been considerably rectified since 1642 at which time the specially appointed Commissioners of the General Assembly had begun their thorough 'visitation' and reform of the three colleges.² But over and above these attractions to this 'Oxford of the North' was the particular advantage of its including a divinity school which, in Scotland at this time, had a programme of instruction par excellence. Due credit for this must be accorded to James VI who, because he regarded St. Andrews "as the Principall fountayne of Religion and good Letters" in Scotland,³ had initiated in 1616 a system of reform in order inter alia to make St. Mary's the

1. Vide R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, pp.60,1.

2. EOD, iii.203-11.

3. Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland [ed. Beriah Botfield], ii.806.

principal divinity college in the nation.¹ Thus, in the words of R.G. Cant, St. Andrews once again became "the ecclesiastical capital of Scotland" and, in addition, "by express royal injunction...the centre of the educational life" as well.² The accession of Charles brought "a period of comparative tranquillity"³ to the academic routine but this, again, was radically interrupted (as has been noted) in 1642 when the newly appointed Commission, "pondering how important the right constitution of the College of Divinity may be for the whole Kirk of Scotland",⁴ set out to formulate and implement a new and penetrating policy of reform. From the standpoint of Cargill, therefore, St. Andrews during this period was eminently suited for advanced education both in philosophy and divinity, but, from the outset, it was probably the prospect of study in the latter faculty--where Rutherford dominated the scene--that (for him) placed the University in its most favourable light.

b. Enrolment and Vocational Crises

The date of Cargill's graduation from St. Salvator's College is not recorded in the Graduation Roll, but presumably it was 1647 since he had commenced his philosophy studies in 1643.

-
1. Ibid. and vide p.483 where he instructed that, "For the help of the posterity, and furtherance of religion,...a special care be taken of the Divinity Colledge in Sanct Andrews; and to that effect, that every Diocie shall furnish two Students, or so many as may make the number to extend to twenty six; and the half thereof to be children of poor Ministers, to be preferred by the Bishop of the Diocie". Vide also Article 13, pp.808,9.
 2. The University of St. Andrews, p.61.
 3. Ibid., p.63.
 4. EOD, iii.206 and LJR, ii.85.

The earliest known official indication of his having obtained his Master's degree is to be found in the St. Andrews' copy of the Solemn League and Covenant which he signed as a student in the New College on 31 December 1648 and in which he styled himself 'Mr Donald Cargill'.¹ This means, of course, that he could have graduated in the Spring of 1648 rather than 1647 since his signature gives no indication as to whether he was then in his first or second year.² If, however, he completed his divinity training in the Spring of 1652, as seems probable,³ the likelihood prevails that a year of vocational indecision intervened between the completion of his arts course in 1647

-
1. St. Andrews' copy, p.49 of signatures. In a sasine, dated at Perth 24 January 1649, Cargill acted as attorney for his sister, 'Grisselide', in her infetment as the promised spouse of Donald Crockett "with the liferent of Morentie and Hill of Alyth". Cargill's name appears three times in the sasine: first, as "Mro Donaldo Cargill filio legitimo Laurenti Cargill in Bonytoun of Rattray"; next as "ibidem dictum^{Mr} Donald Cargill actornat" (the 'Mr' is thus inserted, perhaps as an after-thought, which may suggest that it had then been only recently acquired); and lastly, as "Mr Donald Cargill" (vide Particular Register of Sasines, fol.342v. & 343; also 341,2). The deed was first drawn up on 8 January 1649--only a week after he signed the Covenant at St. Andrews. It will be noted that between 1901 and 1918 D. Hay Fleming changed his mind on the question of Cargill's graduation from the University (cf. SSC, ii.203 with Some Subscribed Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant, p.13 & n).
 2. The fact that his is the second name in the first of three columns of unequal length on p.49 (of the signatures) and second to that of Samuel Rutherford himself does not imply that he was in the final stage of his course of study there. All external evidence is opposed to this possibility as is the fact that practically nothing of significance with respect to the class rank of students can be deduced from the order in which their signatures appear.
 3. Vide *infra*, Chapter VI.

and the commencement of his theological studies in 1648.¹ This conclusion is interestingly, if obliquely, supported by that familiar--though nevertheless classic--account from the pen of Sir Robert Hamilton in which he bares the intense and prolonged conflict of mind and heart that preceded Cargill's decision to give himself to the work of the ministry. He writes:²

There were several things remarkable in the manner of his calling to the Ministry; for after he had perfected his philosophy course, at the University of St. Andrews, his father, a godly and religious gentleman pressed much upon him to study divinity, in order to fit him for the ministry; but he, through his great tenderness of spirit, constantly refused, telling his father, that the work of the ministry was too great a weight for his weak shoulders, and requesting him to command him to any other employment he pleased. But his father still urging, he resolved to

-
1. It is quite possible, of course, that his apparent absence from St. Andrews during the academic year 1647-48 was also due in part to the outbreak of the plague in the burgh at the beginning of May 1647 (IRB, p.197). Though it was neither as severe nor as prolonged in St. Andrews as in the other university towns (vide LJR, ii.343 & 417 and iii.52) --especially Aberdeen (vide William Gordon's The History of the...Family of Gordon, ii.533,4 and William Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, i.270,1)--it did, according to Robert Baillie, "dissipate the Colledges" there (LJR, iii.6). William Row intimates that the worst was over by "the beginning of August [1647]" (IRB, p.198), but the "schoolles and colledges" in St. Andrews and elsewhere had not by then returned to normal (LJR, iii.18) and it was evidently not until January following that the regular meetings of Presbytery were held in the city once again (vide SMP, p.38)--Anstruther having been in May appointed the regular place of meeting for "so long as the Plague continues" (Ibid., p.37). Perhaps, therefore, the lament of Baillie in September 1647--"my studies and domestick affaires are clean disordered" (LJR, iii.18)--provides some insight into the interruption of Cargill's studies during the year in point.
 2. A Cloud of Witnesses ed. J.H. Thomson, p.502. Vide also p.1.

seek the mind of the Lord therein, and for that end set apart a day of private fasting, and after long and earnest wrestling with the Lord by prayer, the third chapter of Ezekiel's prophecy, and chiefly these words in the first verse, "Son of man,...eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel," made a strong impression upon his mind, so that he durst never after refuse his father's desire, to betake himself to that study, and dedicate himself wholly to that office.

For Cargill, therefore, the period that intervened between his graduation from the Old College and his entrance into the New was one of critical importance. It literally marked his transition from an 'old' course of uncertain direction to a 'new' one of certainty and purpose. His decision to enter St. Mary's, then, in the very nature of things, was one with that to enter the ministry, and from that hour his vocation in life was irrevocably sealed.¹ Even so, his more difficult test was still before him.

It was sometime during his years at St. Mary's that Cargill experienced what may properly be termed the supreme crisis of his life. If the matter of his life calling had been determined with a high degree of personal assurance, the deeper and more fundamental problem of his "interest in Christ and peace with God"² had yet, paradoxically, to be finally resolved.

1. The "deep exercise anent his call to the ministry" (reported by Sir Robert Hamilton vide Ibid., p.506) which beset him following his escape from the battle of Bothwell Bridge was of a purely temporary character and doubtless due largely to the abnormal circumstances under which his 'ministry' was then being conducted. Perhaps his experience at Bothwell at that time summoned recollections of the crisis he had faced there more than twenty-five years before.

2. Ibid., p.10.

Perhaps the tumult of the hour was not altogether unrelated to the turmoil that was thus to sweep his soul. In the nation at large there was intense religious disquietude. The ecclesiastical controversy that had long separated prelate and presbyterian had been brought into partial eclipse by the rise of a fratricidal conflict of no less magnitude and severity in which, because of "the sinfull and vnlawfull Engadgement", the Protesters and Resolutioners had split the ranks of the presbyterian forces.¹ Their hostilities ranged the field of Scotland's 'ecclesiastical capital' with a special zeal and found within St. Mary's an arena second to none.² But, for Cargill, even the demoralising effect of this inter-party strife and declension was over-shadowed by another conflict that arose within the precincts of his own mind and soul. It is James Wodrow, Cargill's close friend and confidant, who delineates the scene as Donald himself described it, and in a style hardly less graphic than the experience itself:³

I had occasion [he recalls] to be very intimate with him [Cargill] when he was but a young man, and he told me the passage a little after he met with it. Mr. Cargill was under very much of a law work⁴ before his entry to the ministry, and while a student,⁵ and that with grievous temptations, and fiery darts mixed in with it, and his

-
1. For a brief summary of the cause and character of this conflict, vide SSC, ii.122,3, n.19.
 2. Vide infra.
 3. The compilers of A Cloud of Witnesses derive their account from this source and not from the Analecta (i.69) which is somewhat abbreviated and less definite (vide J.H. Thomson ed., Op.Cit., pp.1,3).
 4. "The experience of conviction of sin or repentance under the law" (A Scots Dialect Dictionary by A. Warrack and W. Grant, q.v.).
 5. James Wodrow clearly distinguishes the occasion when Cargill attained to an assurance of his salvation ("before

too great reservedness, and not communicating his case to such as might have given him counsel and support under it, drove him to terrible excesses; in short, he came to the very height of despair, and through indulging melancholy, and hearkening to temptations, he at length came to take up a resolution to put an end to his miserable life. He was living then (if I mind) with his father or some relation in the parish of Bothwell;¹ and under the horrible hurry of those fiery darts, he went out once or twice to the river of Clyde with a dreadful resolution to drown himself. He was still diverted by somebody or other coming by him, which prevented his design at that time. But the temptation continuing, and his horror by yielding to it

his entry to the ministry, and while a student") from that earlier experience when he became certain of his vocation in life ("after he had perfected his philosophy course" and before he entered upon divinity study). That Wodrow is correct in fixing upon Cargill's student days (at St. Mary's) as the time when he fought the battle of his "interest in Christ" is evident from the Martyr's Last Speech and Testimony, written by himself immediately prior to his execution and in which he declares: "It is near thirty years since he made it sure" (J.H. Thomson ed., Op.Cit., p.6). The two accounts by Robert Wodrow which contain his father's recollections of the number of years which had thus elapsed not only differ measurably from Cargill's recorded statement but are themselves vague and inconsonant. He recounts in the Analecta (i.69) that his father had told him that it was "some twenty or thirty years befor his death, or more, he does not mind" and in the Life of James Wodrow (p.162), that it was "about twenty-five years ago". It is the latter of these two that is cited in A Cloud of Witnesses (J.H. Thomson ed., p.3) whereas Patrick Walker quotes directly from Cargill's Last Speech and Testimony (vide SSC, ii.56).

1. There is no evidence that Laurence Cargill ever lived in the parish of Bothwell (vide supra, pp.24,5). While no relative of the family then living there has been discovered, it is known that Anna Somerville, wife of Mr. Thomas Lundie (Donald's maternal first cousin--vide supra pp.35,6), came from one of the parishes near Glasgow (vide PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 8 November 1945). Laurence and Donald may have been visiting this home on the occasion referred to during a summer's holiday from St. Mary's. It is worthy of note in this connection that the minister of Bothwell parish at this time was Mr. Matthew M'Kail, a life-long Covenanter and father of Hugh who later suffered martyrdom for the Covenant at 26 years of age (FES, iii.230).

increasing, he fell upon a method he thought he should not be prevented in. On a summer morning very early, he went from the house where he staid to a more unfrequented place, where there were some old coal-pits, and coming up to one of them, was fully determined (horresco referens) to step in; but when very near it, a thought struck him in the head, that his coat he had upon him and vest being new, might be of some use to others, though he was unworthy to live, and deserved to be in hell; and so he stepped back and threw them off, and then came up to the very brink of the pit, and when just going to jump in, that word struck him in the mind, Son be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee. He said it came in with that power and life upon his spirit, which was impossible for him to express, and he did not know whether it was by an immediate impression of it on his mind, or a direct voice from heaven (which last he inclined to think), but it had such an evidence and energy accompanying it, as at once put an end to all his fears and doubts, and which he could no more resist than he could do the light of a sun-beam darted upon his eye.¹

There is nothing here or elsewhere to indicate the precise time in the course of his divinity study when Cargill stood so literally on the cross-roads of life and death. If, however, the timing of an event is frequently subordinate in importance to the event itself and to the circumstances that bring it forth, the very indefiniteness of Wodrow's "passage" in this respect may serve an intended purpose of laying emphasis both on the uniqueness of the experience itself and on the academic climate in which it was nurtured and brought to fruition. With respect to Donald's experience Wodrow's treatment is clear and adequate, but the "academic climate" in which it ripened is mentioned only in vague and general terms. He does, however, appear to imply that the men whose instruction and influence were chiefly responsible for bringing him face-to-face with the ultimate question of life--his "interest in Christ"--were the very men whose

1. Life of James Wodrow, pp.160-2.

"counsel and support" might have done most to quench the "fiery darts" that exacerbated the torment of his soul, but that, because of his "too great reservedness", he refrained from consulting them, electing instead to meet the vital question unassisted. He doubtless considered it imprudent to engage for purely personal ends the time of men who were so deeply involved in the larger ecclesiastical affairs of the hour¹ and yet, despite his characteristic reticence, the impact of their influence in conditioning him both for his spiritual crisis at St. Mary's and for his future role as a Covenanter churchman was trenchant and lasting. Their respective positions, accordingly, must be examined more particularly.

c. The Masters' Influence.

The professorships of St. Mary's at this time, unlike those of the two philosophy colleges, were fixed rather than rotating.² For Cargill this meant a full round of theological training under the direct instruction of three notable men of letters and influence: Alexander Colville, James Wood and Principal Rutherford. The names of all three divines appear

1. The respective positions assumed by his professors with regard to these affairs may have constituted an added hindrance to such consultation. In view of his later attachment to Rutherford's 'protesting' party, inevitably there would have been developing at this time a corresponding disaffection for the divergent viewpoints represented by Colville and Wood (vide infra) and thus a not unnatural disinclination to consult with them on a matter so vital and personal. On the other hand, if Taylor Innes' characterisation be accepted, Rutherford might also have moved in such an apparent atmosphere of unapproachability as would have deterred the advance of any youth so verecund and unobtrusive--even though "as a pastor, [Rutherford] lived for others, not for himself"-- (vide A.T. Innes, Rutherford, pp.142-4,54).

2. Vide R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, pp.52,3.

together on that page of the Solemn League and Covenant that was devoted to the masters and students of the New College at the "Second Swearing" on 31 December 1648,¹ but the underlying unity of spirit implied by this act was more apparent than real. Very soon thereafter they were to assume markedly divergent positions with respect to the meaning and importance of the Covenant in the rapidly changing politico-ecclesiastical scene.

At one extreme was DR. ALEXANDER COLVILLE who commenced his professorship in Divinity in 1642² after having served

-
1. Vide St. Andrews' copy, p.49 of signatures. Vide also DPD, i.372 where they are listed as the three masters of the College in 1652.
 2. SMS, p.214. (The year 1647, as stated in FES, vii.420,8, is manifestly incorrect.) At the General Assembly of 1641 it had been suggested by Alexander Henderson that he be summoned from Sedan to Scotland (LJRB, i.366) and the following year action to that effect was taken (vide MS. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, 6 August 1642, fol.93; Records of the Kirk of Scotland, ed. Alexander Peterkin, p.333, Act 25; and EOD, iii.206). Colville first subscribed the St. Andrews' copy of the Solemn League and Covenant as Professor of Divinity in 1643 or 1644 (p.27 of signatures) and is similarly designated on 2 July 1644 in APS, VI,i.188. J.B. Paul states that, in addition to the professorship, "he was offered the appointment of Principal of the New College" (The Scots Peerage, ii.550) but fails to cite his source of information. While it is true that Howie complained in 1641 "that after his long service in the Kirk and Divinitie-schools, he had been made to demitt his place, by threats, in his extreame old age and extreame povertie" (LJRB, i.361), "the act, which secured to Howie his income and rank, notwithstanding his retirement, declares 'that old ministers and professors of divinitie, shall not by their cessation from their charge, through age and inability, be put from enjoying their old maintenance and dignity'" (Thomas Murray, The Life of Samuel Rutherford, p.244n; vide also J.K. Cameron's Letters of John Johnston and Robert Howie, p.lxxix). It seems probable, therefore, that Colville discharged the practical duties of the princi-

for some years "under the patronage of the Reformed Church of France [as]...Professor of Theology and Hebrew at the University of Sedan".¹ Within a year of his admission, by reason of Rutherford's new assignment at Westminster, there seems to have fallen to him the principal responsibility of superintending the academic programme of the College though this responsibility was later shared by James Wood who was appointed his colleague in 1645.² It was about the time of Cargill's entrance upon his divinity studies that Colville's strong royalist sympathies began to emerge. In connection with his call to a Divinity professorship at his Edinburgh alma mater in 1648, Robert Baillie cryptically observes that, though the transfer did not materialise, "his colleagues [were] willing

palship without possessing the title. The appointment of Rutherford rather than Colville in 1647 as Howie's successor would likely (the record of the 1647 proceedings of the General Assembly are now missing) be due both to his professorial seniority at St. Mary's and to his outstanding Scottish and European theological reputation.

1. J.B. Paul ed., Op.Cit., ii.550. For many years his family had had close associations with France (Ibid., pp.549-51). Born about 1596 (FES, vii.420), he received his M.A. from Edinburgh University in 1615 and later the degree of Doctor of Theology (A Catalogue of the Graduates...of the University of Edinburgh ed. David Laing, p.29). According to William Anderson, he had a brief pastorate at Dysart before assuming his divinity appointment in France (The Scottish Nation, iii.675) but the assertion is unauthenticated and highly improbable in view of the fact that he commenced his professorship in Sedan in 1619 (in Hebrew and Philosophy of History; vide Étude sur les Académies Protestantes en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe Siècle by P.D. Bourchenin, pp.464,5) and that no mention is made in the Fasti of his ever having had any connection with this parish (FES, v.86,8).
2. MS. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, 31 January and 13 February 1645, folios 86 & 175.

to dismiss him".¹ The probable explanation of their (particularly Rutherford's) willingness to see him leave St. Andrews comes to light in a remark of Baillie the following year in which he denominates Colville (though not disapprovingly) "a man demi-malignant".² As this was the year when numerous regencies were demitted in the two philosophy colleges on account of malignancy charges, it is not especially surprising that Colville's three-year term as Rector of the University was likewise terminated by the election of Rutherford to that office.³ While silence shrouds the next few years of his life it is clear that his 'demi-malignancy' continued to develop for, on the transfer of Wood to the principalship of St. Salvator's in 1657,⁴ Colville came out strongly in support of James Sharp to succeed him at the New College and, after three years, triumphed in his choice against the relentless opposition of Rutherford.⁵ Row states that, in his discourse delivered at Sharp's admission to office, Colville "did pose Mr James Sharp anent his judgment of Presbyterial government, who did acknowledge the lawfulness of it, and profess his purpose to maintain it" but after the formalities were concluded "all the students, or servants of the College, that would not take Doctor Sharp by the hand, and acknowledge him one of the

1. LJR, iii.61.

2. *Ibid.*, iii.96.

3. *Vide Matriculation Roll*, folios 274-9.

4. SMS, *Op.Cit.*, p.215.

5. SMP, pp.74-7; LSR, CCCXLIII, pp.678,9; and IRB, p.373.

masters of that College, were extruded from the College and the table by Doctor Colville".¹ Colville's promotion the following year (1662) to the principalship of St. Mary's² came as the natural consequence of his successful effort on behalf of Sharp which had clearly betokened his zealous compliance with the newly-established ecclesiastical order. He held this office until his death in January 1666.³

The ecclesiastical moderate at St. Mary's in Cargill's day was MR. JAMES WOOD who began his career as a regent in St. Salvator's College⁴ several years previous to his ordination and admission to Dunino parish in 1640.⁵ Due principally to the vacancy left at St. Mary's by Rutherford's departure for the Westminster Assembly, Wood was in 1645 appointed to the Chair of Ecclesiastical History as the colleague of Alexander Colville⁶ and the following year became, in addition,

-
1. Ibid. Lamont describes the occasion thuswise: "the said day Doctor Coluill, professor of the Hebrew ther, had a short speich, and gaue him the right hand of felloshipe; and amonge other expressions that day, he said, Satis est te esse Sharpium" (DJL, p.132).
 2. SMS, p.214.
 3. DJL, pp.184,5.
 4. Vide Matriculation Roll, fol.249 which shows that he was regent during the academic year 1637-1638. Wodrow reports that, having been "bredd Episcopall" (Analecta, i.29), he was, during his regency, "Arminian and Malignant" (Ibid., i.169) as he "and the youth therabout had been all corrupted by Dr Panther [vide infra] in St. Andreues [sic] with Arminianisme and Episcopacy" (Ibid., ii.116). Though he was "violently Arminian, and exceedingly seen in that controversy, and knouen to be soe by all the Ministers, yet much favoured by them and caressed" (Ibid., ii.116,7), Alexander Henderson was later the means of his conversion to presbyterianism (Ibid.).
 5. FES, v.196.
 6. While his appointment commenced officially in mid-1645 (vide supra) it is probable that, as minister of Dunino,

Andrew Honyman's colleague in the Second Charge at St. Andrews¹ --as Rutherford was of Robert Blair in the First Charge.² It was in this dual capacity, then, as professor³ and churchman⁴ that he was destined to become a prominent figure in the ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland.

As in the case of Colville, Wood's approach to the relationship between Crown and Covenant first became apparent in the maelstrom of controversy that was churned up by the Engagement proceedings. Even though he was linked with Rutherford and Blair in the deposition of John Barron on malignancy charges,⁵

he had taught there in a limited capacity for a year or so previously (vide MS. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1 June 1644 and Robert Gilmour's Samuel Rutherford, p.192). During 1644 his transfer to Dunfermline was considered by the Assembly (Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1 June) and he was nominated to this professorship of divinity at Marischal College and minister of Greyfriars Kirk (FAMA, i.179). Both were finally rejected by the Assembly. Wood's successor at Dunino was Mr. John Heart who served the parish from December 1646 until his transfer to Dunkeld in December 1650 where he joined the Protesters. He was "removed" in 1652 as one of those responsible for forming a separate presbytery (vide DJL, pp.22,33,49; SMP, p.19n; DPD, i.390,6 & ii.421,6; and FES, v.195,6 & iv.155). He was afterward one of those imprisoned in Ireland for non-conformity (IRB, p.449).

1. By nomination of Robert Blair (FES, v.238 & viii.469). A not altogether harmonious relationship prevailed, however (vide, for example, Robert Wodrow's Analecta, ii.325).
2. Vide IRB, p.159.
3. He served as Rector of the University for five successive years from 1652 until becoming Principal of St. Salvator's in 1657 (vide Matriculation Roll, folios 284-404).
4. Between 1646 and 1659 he was six times moderator of the Synod of Fife--1646,50,2,5,7,9 (vide SMS, pp.148,70,3,5,9 and DJL, pp.23,86,8,98,119).
5. Vide supra. Balfour's delineation of Blair, Rutherford and Wood as "men gratly malinging monarchy" (Op.Cit., iii.410) must be interpreted only as a criticism of their anti-Erastian views. He himself reveals that they supported the monarchical system of government by recording elsewhere Wood's role in both expeditions to Holland to secure the return of Charles (Ibid., iii.408 & iv.6).

he could scarcely have been whole-heartedly in favour of the action taken for, immediately preceding Barron's trial, he had himself been 'engaged' in the enterprise to bring back to Scotland "the greatest malignant of all"¹ and again the next year (1650) he resumed with equal determination those negotiations at Breda which culminated in Charles' return on 'covenanting' terms.² Seeing no duplicity in the young King's espousal of the covenants³ and zealous for securing a sound

-
1. P. Hume Brown, History of Scotland to the Present Time, ii.275. Vide also DJL, p.2; LJR, iii.84-8, 512-21; and James Balfour, Op.Cit., iii.392, 3, 408.
 2. Vide DJL, p.13; James Balfour, Op.Cit., iv.6; and LJR, p.222.
 3. After having sworn the covenants in June 1650, Charles, "having upon full perswasion of the Iustice and equity of all the heads & articles thereof", published in August following a 'Declaration' in which he solemnly asseverated "that he hath not sworn & subscribed these Covenants, & entred into the Oath of God with his people, upon any sinister intention & crooked design for attaining his own ends, but so far as humane weaknesse will permit in the truth and sinceritie of his heart, and that he is firmly resolved in the Lords strength to adhere thereto, & to prosecute to the utmost of his power all the ends thereof, in his station and calling, really, constantly & sincerely all the dayes of his life: In order to which hee doth in the first place Professe and Declare that hee will have no enemies, but the enemies of the Covenant, & that he will have no friends but the friends of the Covenant. And therefore as he doth now detest and abhor all Popery, Superstition & Idolatry, together with Prelacy and all errors, heresie, schism and profanenes, and resolves not to tolerate, much lesse allow any of these in any part of his Majesties Dominions, but to oppose himselfe thereto, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power; So doth he as a Christian Exhort, and as a King Require that all such of his subjects who have stood in opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant and work of Reformation, upon a pretence of Kingly interest, or other pretext whatsoever, to lay down their enmity against the Cause & people of God, and to cease to preferre the interest of man to the interest of God" (A Declaration by the Kings Majesty, to His Subjects of the Kingdomes of

and durable entente between Crown and Presbytery, he was persuaded during the turbulent months that followed to ally himself with the rapidly growing wing of the Covenanter moderates whose objectives appeared identical with his own and whose method of achieving them seemed not unacceptable even though it involved a compromise with the royalists and Engagers. His first step in this direction was taken early when he openly opposed and refused to read in his kirk James Guthrie's "Causes of a soleme publicke humiliatione vpone the defait of the armey [at Dunbar]" because it contained a denunciation of "the crooked and precipitant wayes that wer takin by our commissioners for carrinng one the trettey with the King".¹ The Remonstrance

Scotland, England, and Ireland, pp.4-5). And Row writes: "The King in all the solemnity, especially in swearing the Covenants, did carry very seriously and devoutly, so that none doubted of his ingenuity and sincerity; yea, he did, both before and after the coronation, profess his sincerity in taking the Covenant to some honest ministers, viz., Messrs James Wood, James Hamilton, 'and' John Macgill, begging this favour of them, that if 'ever,' in any time coming, they did hear or see him breaking that covenant they would tell him of it and put him in mind of his oath" (IRB, p.256).

1. James Balfour, Op.Cit., iv.97-108. Vide also IRB, pp.245,6 and P. Hume Brown, Op.Cit., p.284. No doubt Wood was also opposed to the "A shorte declaratione and varninge to all the congregations of the Kirke of Scotland, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly" which prefaced Guthrie's "Causes"--particularly article 4 which runs: "Wee wold not think that all danger from the malignants is now gone, seing that ther is a grate maney suche in the land, quho still retein ther former principalls; therfor we wolde, with als muche watchfullnes and tendernes now as euer, awayde ther snars, and beware of complayance and coniunctione with them; and take head, that wnder a pretence of doing for the King and kingdome, they gett not power and strenth wnto ther handes, for adwanceing and promoueing ther old malignant desseinges. Doubtles our saftie is in holding fast our former principalls, and keeping a straighte faithe, without declyning to the right hand ore to the lefte" (James Balfour, Op.Cit., iv.101). This "declaratione and varninge" was sent from Stirling 12 September 1650.

from Stirling followed which also he decried and took refuge instead in the Public Resolutions of the Estates and Kirk as the more desirable modus operandi for preserving both King and Covenant.¹ Thus, as a 'Resolutioner', he was associated with the party of power and influence--the party that was destined for dominance in the decade ahead²--but not, in the final outcome, to the realisation of his prime objective. On the national scene it was soon frustrated at Worcester on the first anniversary of Dunbar and when Charles was finally restored in 1660 it was in opposition to the covenants. And on the local scene the consequence of his alliance were hardly more favourable for it was the precursor of the prolonged and indecorous dissension at St. Mary's between him and his 'Protesting' Principal which eventually culminated in Wood's transfer (in 1657) to the principalship of the Old College, for "Mr. Rutherford's daily bitter contentions with him made him wearie of his place exceedingly".³ Without, however, venturing further into the

-
1. Just as Preston had virtually placed the government in the hands of the anti-Engagers, so Dunbar (3 September 1650) and Hamilton (1 December 1650) marked their practical dissolution (SBSH, iii.139-44). The Remonstrance of 17 October (Alexander Peterkin ed., Op.Cit., pp.604-8) was condemned 25 November by the 'public resolutions' of the Committee of Estates and on 30 November by the Committee of the Kirk (Ibid., pp.609,10 and IRB, pp.247,8), and the triumph of the 'Resolutioners' over the 'Remonstrants' was sealed by Argyll's "accommodation with the king's party" (SBSH, iii.143), the crowning of Charles at Scone on 1 January 1651 and the repeal of the Act of Classes on 2 June following (APS, VI,ii.676,7).
 2. SBSH, iii.147,8.
 3. IRJB, iii.316. Vide also pp.327,65,76; IRB, p.343; and SMS, p.215. One of Wood's first duties after the coronation was to serve on a committee which was appointed to confer with Rutherford and others who "were mightily displeased with the Public Resolutions" (IRB, p.257). Vide also SMP, p.62. Rutherford had first 'protested' against them on 28 November--only 3 days after they were framed (IRB, p.248).

effect of this acrimonious relationship within the College-- a venture which at this stage would be premature, a brief though necessary glance at the closing years of his churchmanship will suffice to bring into fuller perspective his concept of King, Covenant and Presbytery. Throughout the few remaining years of the Commonwealth Wood's vision of a restored, covenanted monarch never dimmed. Tongue, pen and monetary resources were much employed on its behalf.¹ In 1660 he "was one of the Commission who brought Charles II from the Continent!"² If, in compliance with Sharp in whose integrity as a Covenanter he placed strong trust,³ he agreed in August of that year temporarily to ignore the Covenant, the better to win the good-will of Charles,⁴ it was a decision based purely on expediency and not on any personal change of mind as to its essential and continuing worth.⁵ In the end it was his unremitting allegiance to it that occasioned not only his deposition from kirk⁶ and college⁷ but also a change of mind

-
1. Vide, for example, LJR, iii.335,44 & n,52,4,62,87 and IRB, pp.343 & n,4,7,50. Shortly after the crowning of Charles at Scone in 1650, Row described Wood as "the man that especially disputed for the Public Resolutions" and "who was most active and instrumental for advancing of them" (*Ibid.*, p.266).
 2. FES, viii.456.
 3. Vide LJR, iii.414 & n; IRB, pp.347,50 and passim; and Robert Wodrow, *Analecta*, ii.117,8.
 4. IRB, pp.361-4.
 5. *Ibid.*, pp.362,95.
 6. *Ibid.*, p.408. It was evidently in May 1662 that the order of discharge was procured by Sharp (vide p.406).
 7. *Ibid.*, p.448. Vide also DJL, pp.152,66 where Lamont states that his deposition (in August 1663) resulted from his refusal to "take and subscribe the oath of allegiance" that was enjoined by Sharp on all the masters of the University. William Campbell (*supra*) had also refused.

as to the rightness and equity of the Protesters' Cause.¹ Shortly before his death, he framed a written testimony to his unchanged and "wonted zeal" for "presbyterial government" as "the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for... ordering of his visible Kirk".² This he considered necessary to do because of reports circulated by Sharp falsely accusing him of defection from it. The document itself was short-lived for on the day of his death, 15 March 1664,³

"the Hie Commissione of the Church of Scotland convenit and sat down at Edinburgh; at quhich tyme Mr. James Wod, Professor at the College of St. Andros, his declaratione is ordanit to be brint, and sum ministeris accessorie thairto imprissoned within the Tolbuith of Edinburgh".⁴

J. King Hewison's summary description of Cargill's professor of Church History at St. Mary's is apt: "...an able man, a staunch Resolutioner, a negotiator at Breda, the bosom friend

-
1. After the establishment of prelacy, Wood said in reply to a query of Mr. Donaldson, a notable Protester: "I see nou the Remonstrants wer in the right; the Resolutions have ruined us! For my oun part, I still hated breaches and separation, and that made me doe as I did" (Robert Wodrow, *Analecta*, ii.118,9).
 2. IRB, p.465. Vide also p.405 and Robert Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, i.403,4. Baillie's slightly sarcastic reference in December 1660 to Wood's "Archi-Episcopall pride" probably relates to his (Wood's) earlier endeavour to secure both King and Covenant by temporary compromise (LJB, iii. 418). But the following year he re-affirmed his confidence in Wood in writing: "Mr. Wood and Mr. Colvin did their duetie very honestly" at the time when "Diverse of the northern ministers, and some others, play'd sycophants" (*Ibid.*, p. 468)--a reference, doubtless, to their resistance to Sharp's demands at St. Andrews in early September 1661 (vide IRB, p.395).
 3. J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters*, ii.172.
 4. John Nicoll, *A Diary of Public Transactions*, p.412. Vide also Robert Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings*, i.391. One

and ~~as~~ promoter of Sharp...the champion of Nonconformity".¹ But it is to the Principal of St. Mary's and the leader of the Protesters in the day of Cargill that brief consideration is now due.

The history of St. Andrews from 1639 to 1660 is, as Andrew Lang might have expressed it,² the history of SAMUEL RUTHERFURD. Not only were these the years of covenant ascendancy in Scotland but they set the bounds of that era when St. Andrews possessed the man who has been aptly characterised as "perhaps the only perfectly consistent Covenanter" of all those who then bore the name and who, "after Henderson...was probably the greatest of [all] the Covenanters".³ The mental and spiritual endowments of this "St. Thomas and St. Francis under one hood"⁴ were extraordinary and for three centuries they have evoked striking tributes from an imposing array of eminent historians, editors and commentators.⁵ R.H. Story, for example,

of the ministers imprisoned was William Tullidaff, Thomas Gleg's successor at St. Salvator's from 1650-57. (Ibid., i.404,5).

1. Op.Cit., ii.172.

2. Vide supra p.130.

3. R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, p.70.

4. A.T. Innes, Op.Cit., p.146.

5. His Resolutioner contemporary, Robert Baillie (LJRB, i.8); his fellow Protester, John Livingston (Lives of...the most eminent Divines, p.25); his younger Covenanter acquaintance James Urquhart (Analecta by Robert Wodrow, i.88); Robert Wodrow himself (Ibid., pp.88-90 and History of the Sufferings, i.205); A.T. Innes, Advocate (Op.Cit., especially pp.135,40,6,52); Alexander Whyte (Samuel Rutherford and Some of His Correspondents, p.2ff); and Robert Gilmour (Op.Cit., p.2ff). Dean Stanley, notwithstanding his adverse criticism of this "true saint of the Covenant" in certain particulars (Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland,

rated him "the greatest...of the Covenanting theologians"¹ and in the estimate of a recent authority he ranks as "the most versatile genius in the whole long line of Scottish theologians".² Despite certain of his self-confessed³ and oft-criticised extremes, his years of "indefatigable pains, both in teaching...& preaching"⁴ ---and, it might be added, in writing--- were crowned with a good measure of success. It was not without a high degree of justification that Robert McWard, three years after the death of this "Joshua Redivivus", ascribed to him the principal credit of having transformed the University

pp.77,88-93), still "discerns the transcendent greatness" of the man (Robert Gilmour, *Op.Cit.*, p.5). Perhaps, however, the most striking---if mute---tribute to his priorities in life is to be seen in his last will and testament wherein his personal estate is thus listed: "his books were estimat to 1800 lib. Item, the utinceills and domiceills of his hous, with the abuilziaments of his bodie, all estimat to 200 lib. 'Summa of the Inventarie 2000 lb.'" Thomas Murray, *Op.Cit.*, p.360).

1. The Church of Scotland, Past and Present, iv. 231. Vide also James Walker who terms him "altogether a sort of intellectual, theological, religious prodigy!" (The Theology and Theologians of Scotland, p.13).
2. Marcus L. Loane, *Op.Cit.*, p.80.
3. Vide LSR, CLXVII, p.315 where he confesses to David Dickson that "I am made of extremes". Yet even as a Protester he did not countenance certain of the extreme measures of the Western Remonstrants at the height of the controversy at Stirling and Perth in November 1650 (vide A. Peterkin ed., *Op.Cit.*, pp.608-12, LJR, iii.110 and W.M. Campbell, The Triumph of Presbyterianism, pp.82,3).
4. [Robert McWard], Joshua Redivivus, Preface.

from being

"the very Nursery of all superstition in worship,...Errour in Doctrine, & of all Profanity in conversation" into "a Lebanon, out of which were taken Cedars for building the house of the Lord through the whole land".¹

The value placed upon his services by church and university authorities alike is perhaps most poignantly illustrated by the fact that two determined endeavours on his part to retreat from or demit his academic post and return to his first love--the comparative quietude of parochial ministrations²--were vigorously resisted and successfully thwarted by men who were fully alive to his singular worth. Similarly, the appeals of four universities between 1644 and 1651 for his professorial services--Aberdeen, Harderwyck, Edinburgh and Utrecht--were declined, chiefly by reason of the pressures exerted upon him by numerous of his colleagues throughout the church at large.³ His massive contribution to the cause of the covenants in the course of two decades made him not only the most puissant influence in transforming St. Mary's into a theological "Lebanon" but also in rearing Donald Cargill as one of his choice

1. Ibid.

2. With respect to his appointment to St. Andrews in 1639 (vide LJB, ii.444-6; ISR, CCLXXXVII, p.567; and Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., pp.110n,148-63) and his call to West Calder in 1642 (vide LJB, ii.49; Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., pp.189-91; and Robert Gilmore, Op.Cit., pp.193,4).

3. To Aberdeen in 1644 (vide supra p.92); to Harderwyck in 1648 (vide LJB, iii.82 and Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., p.257); to Edinburgh in 1649 (vide LJB, iii.96; ISR, CCCXXV, pp.645,6; and Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., p.256); and to Utrecht in 1651 (vide ISR, CCCXXXIV, p.662 & n and Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., pp.257-62). The last of these he considered for six months before finally declining.

"Cedars" to be hewn for the building of the "house of the Lord" in the land.

It is significant to note that at no time during his years at St. Andrews did Rutherford's fame and influence reach greater heights than in that brief but momentous period between 1648 and 1652 when Cargill was sitting at his feet. Four years of uninterrupted service at the Westminster Assembly then lay close behind him in the course of which time his energies had been expended not only in 'counsel and debate' but also in presenting to the nation five major works comprising altogether nearly three thousand quarto pages and dealing with many of the most difficult and disputed topics of the hour--the cardinal doctrines of practical theology,¹ the conflicting systems of church government and discipline,² and the biblical basis of constitutional law in civil government.³ It had, of course,

-
1. Two large volumes of sermons were published in 1645 and 1647 respectively: The Tryal & Triumph of Faith and Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himselfe. Both devote special attention to Antinomianism and Arminianism.
 2. The Due right of Presbyteries or, a Peaceable Plea, for the Government of the Church of Scotland was published in 1644, its chief purpose being to expound Presbyterianism and refute Independency. Its more than 750 pages were supplemented two years later by The Divine Right of Church-Government and Excommunication which, in opposition to Erastianism, established on the basis of Scripture that the church's government and discipline were to be administered exclusively by the clergy. Both constitute works of outstanding erudition.
 3. Lex Rex: The Law and the Prince. A Dispute for the just Prerogative of King and People, published in 1644.

been the last of these subjects that had commanded his first attention, chiefly by reason of the publication in mid-1644 of Bishop Maxwell's Sacra-sancta Regum Majestas¹ which propounded the doctrine of the divine right of kings and the passive obedience of subjects. Within only a few months thereafter,² Rutherford brought from the press his monumental work on constitutional monarchy--perhaps the most potent and provocative treatise of his entire career--and laid it before the Assembly. Almost immediately it was adopted by Presbyterians and Independents alike as their new 'political textbook'.³

In view of the impact and effect of this publication, therefore, not to mention that of his other numerous and diverse contributions⁴ to the work of the Assembly, it was as a

-
1. Or; The Sacred and Royall Prerogative of Christian Kings. Even the 'moderate' Baillie could not restrain a most vituperative denunciation of Maxwell for having penned this book: "I could hardlie consent to the hanging of Canterburry himselfe, or of any Jesuite, yet I could give my sentence freely against that unhappie lyer's life" (LJRB, ii.208).
 2. Row relates that Rutherford had earlier prepared the substance of Lex Rex but had delayed its completion in deference to the strong adverse sentiments of Robert Blair (vide IRB, pp.365,6).
 3. M.L. Loane, Op.Cit., pp.78,9. According to Taylor Innes, Lex Rex still stands as "one of the few important books on constitutional law which Scotland has produced" (Op.Cit., p.127). As early as January 1645, Bishop Guthry wrote: "The general assembly sate down at Edinburgh...at which time every one had in his hand that book lately published... which was stuffed with positions, that in the time of peace and order, would have been judged damnable treasons; yet were now so idolized, that whereas in the beginning of the work, Buchanan's treatise, De Jure Regni apud Scotos, was looked upon as an oracle, this coming forth, it was slighted, as not anti-monarchical enough, and Rutherford's Lex Rex only thought authentic" (The Memoirs of Henry Guthry, p.177). Vide also Robert Gilmour, Op.Cit., Chapter XII.
 4. For a succinct discussion of these several contributions,

figure of national and even European repute, that he in November 1647¹ returned from London to his native heath. And yet, even then he was standing only upon the threshold of his crowning years of influence as the Covenanter 'politician and ecclesiastic, dialectician and polemic, theologian and systematic'²-- years in which none of his mental, spiritual or physical resources was left untapped by the demands of either church or college, and years also, it may be repeated, that were so vitally shared by his student from the parish of Rattray. Since, then, it was at the meridian point of Samuel Rutherford's career that the full weight of his influence was brought to bear upon Donald Cargill, and since also that influence must be adjudged one of the most positive determinants of the course and character of Cargill's later ministry, a brief sketch of the numerous engagements of this divine's time and energies between 1648 and 1652 is of immediate concern.

Rutherford's return to St. Andrews brought not only the resumption of his former duties at the college desk and city pulpit but also his elevation to the principalship of St. Mary's.³ Just over a year later, in February 1650, he was

-
1. including the catechism whose authorship has been ascribed to him, vide Ibid., Chapter XI.
 1. He was the last of the Scottish Commissioners to leave London (vide Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., p.237; Robert Gilmour, Op.Cit., pp.166,7; and M.L. Loane, Op.Cit., p.81).
 2. Vide A.T. Innes, Op.Cit., pp.135,52.
 3. Vide A. Peterkin ed., Op.Cit., p.482 (Act 106) and Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., p.245.

for the third time elected Rector of the University--an office he discharged for two successive years.¹ It was in this capacity that he addressed Charles (in Latin) during his pre-coronation visit to St. Andrews the following July, characteristically taking advantage of the situation to run "mutch vpon what was the dewtie of kings".² Notwithstanding the heavy and constant demands of preaching, teaching and administration, however, he did not curtail in the slightest degree his devotion to the interests of the church on the national level. It was but a few months after his Latin oration to Charles that the 'Western Remonstrance' occasioned what was to become the greatest and most divisive controversy that confronted the covenanting movement and unquestionably the one which brought Rutherford most spectacularly to the forefront of this internecine conflict. As one of the first to 'protest' against the Public Resolutions,³ he consistently pitted every ounce of the strength at his command against them in the months that followed⁴ until the culminating moment of his endeavour was reached when, at that midnight session of the General Assembly convened at St. Andrews on 20 July 1651, he led a party of twenty-two in tabling a "Protestation"

against the validity and Constitution of this Assembly, as not being free and lawful...particularly...because these

1. Vide Matriculation Roll, folios 280-3. He had previously served in this office in 1643 and 1644 (Ibid., folios 267-9).

2. DJL, p.20.

3. Vide IRB, p.248 and DJL, p.24.

4. Vide, for example, IRB, pp.257,64; DJL, p.29; and SMP.p.62.

proceedings contain many things contrary to the trust committed to these Commissioners, especially the allowing and carrying on of a conjunction with the Malignant Party... and the laying of a foundation for the Civil Magistrate to meddle with Ministers in those things which concern their Doctrin and the exercise of Ministerial Duties before they be cited, tried, and censured by the Judicatories of the Church.¹

By reason of the 'Resolutioner' majority in the Assembly, this Protestation was doomed from the outset² but its real significance must be judged not in the light of its rejection but by the fact that it precipitated in the church a crisis of the first magnitude by crystallising the capital issues of the controversy and the respective positions of the dissentient parties. In the words of G.W. Sprott, it "begane the schism which mainly brought about the restoration of episcopacy ten years later".³ Similar protests followed but, coming in the after-math of the crisis, their effect was of little importance.⁴

There was yet one further demand upon Rutherford's time and energies during these years. The pen which in London had been so facile and influential was once again taken in hand with restored force and vigour. Within two years of his re-

-
1. A. Peterkin ed., Op.Cit., pp.628,31,2. Vide also DJL, p.33. The "protestation" was double-edged. It charged that the covenants had been violated by the admission of unqualified (malignant) commissioners to the Assembly and by the revival of Erastian procedures on the part of the civil magistrate. These continued as the critical issues of the covenanting struggle.
 2. The Assembly officially rejected it as "a declinator" (A. Peterkin ed., Op.Cit., p.629).
 3. DNB, xvii.497.
 4. Vide A. Peterkin ed., Op.Cit., pp.647,8,51,2 and DJL, pp. 45,59.

turn three new major works were compiled and committed to print¹--the substance of one, Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia, having been originally delivered as part of his course of lectures in divinity. The volume, as is indicated by the title, is permeated with "scholastic jargon" and consists "almost entirely of polemical disquisitions; the object seeming to be as much to refute an antagonist, as to enforce religious truth, of biblical learning".² But it, together with some preserved lecture notes of William Tullidaff (supra), and his (Rutherford's) Examen Arminianismi (published posthumously), provides valuable indication of the subject-matter Cargill received from him at St. Mary's.³ There is in

-
1. His A Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist was published in 1648. Though prefaced with a brief treatise on the divine right of presbyterian polity, it is devoted principally to tracing the historical development of, and to the refutation of, the "Heresie" of Antinomianism by expounding "the Law and the Gospel...the two Covenants...the nature of free grace...mortification, justification, [and] sanctification". The second work, A Free Disputation Against pretended Liberty of Conscience, printed in 1649, undertakes to define the nature and limits of toleration and is directed mainly against "the Belgick Arminians, Socinians, and other Authors contending for lawlesse Liberty, or licentious Toleration of Sects and Heresies". One minor contribution was also published the same year: The Last and Heavenly Speeches, and Glorious Departure of John Viscount Kenmuir.
 2. Thomas Murray, Op.Cit., pp.169,70. The purpose of this work is to refute Jesuit, Arminian and Socinian tenets. Vide also A.T. Innes, Op.Cit., p.133n.
 3. Tullidaff's notes reveal that Rutherford's lectures "comprehended an investigation into the necessity, the nature and object of a divine revelation...[an] elaborate enquiry, as to what forms the canon of inspired truth... [and as to] the utility and authority of standards, and confessions of faith; which he endeavoured to shew to be necessary, sanctioned by Scripture, and obligatory" (Ibid., p.171). The printed edition of Examen Arminianismi (published post-

it, beneath the hard, scholastic crust--a literary ingredient which may have been borrowed in part from "his heroes", Bradwardine and Twiss,¹ a content which, as his own student and amanuensis colourfully relates, came neither from

the dry School-men, nor at Aristotle his feet (though there were few in the age, so well acquainted with either)...Nay... he was a student above the clouds, & there it was, where he learned these Metaphysicks.²

It would thus appear that nowhere were these "two sides" of the one man so clearly evident as in the classroom--that anomalous conjunction, as Taylor Innes expresses it, "of intense scholasticism with intense devotion".³ His was, in truth, a "Metaphysicks" of the clouds communicated in the parlance of the Schoolmen.

In undertaking to summarise Rutherford's total life and influence during his twenty years in St. Andrews--and particularly those apogaeic years between 1648 and 1652, it is scarcely possible to improve upon that statement which is enshrined in the preface to the first edition of his collected letters. There, the editor, after testifying to "his unparalleled painfullness, & holy Zeal in being about his Master's

humously in 1668) incorporates the lecture notes of a pupil at points where Rutherford's MS. is "less full" than they (*Ibid.*, p.335). Walker classified it as "an excellent theological manual" (*Op.Cit.*, p. 10).

1. Vide *Ibid.*, p.9.

2. [Robert McWard ed.], *Op.Cit.*, Preface.

3. Vide A.T. Innes, *Op.Cit.*, p.146.

business", evinces

that he seemed to pray Constantly, to preach constantly, to catechise constantly, to be still in visiting the sick, in exhorting from house to house, to teach as much in the schooles, & spend as much time with the young men, as if he had been sequestrat from all the world besids: & withall, to write as much, as if he had been constantly shut up in his closet...so that one Mr. Rutherford seemed to be many able godly men in one, or one, who was furnished with the grace, and abilities of many.¹

Rutherford, however, was also the kind of man whose very virtues became at times his vices. The marked intensity of his drive and single-minded devotion to duty made it difficult for him to work in concert with others and nowhere was this more evident than at St. Mary's during the course of his fifteen year principalship. Particularly was this true of the College when Cargill was in training for the ministry--the disharmony of its masters reaching the point where it strikingly resembled that disunity which characterised Scotland as a whole. The tripartite division of the nation into Royalists, Resolutions and Protesters which had developed in connection with the military debacles at Dunbar and Worcester² was represented in diminutive scale by the three New College professors. Alexander Colville stood well to the 'left' as is indicated especially by his eventual conformity to restored episcopacy; James Wood, until very near the end of his life, maintained a 'central' position as a staunch promoter of the Public Resolutions; and Samuel Rutherford, "the only perfectly consistent Covenanter"

-
1. [Robert McWard ed.], Op.Cit., James Urquhart's characterisation of Rutherford in 1692 was manifestly a paraphrase of this account (Robert Wodrow, Analecta, iii.88).
 2. Vide P. Hume Brown, Op.Cit., ii.287.

of the three, held forth as the redoubtable leader of the 'right wing' party of Protesters. But the mark of resemblance between St. Mary's and the nation went even deeper than that of tripartite division. The intense passions and hostilities engendered in the national controversy¹ were also markedly present in the College pitting each professor against his fellows in both verbal and written disputation. Especially was this true of the relationship between the Principal and his more liberal-minded colleagues.² As normally viewed, the situation was far from ideal but even so it did serve one practical end: it afforded the student a unique opportunity to become acquainted first hand with the intricacies of the controversy that was monopolising the attention of all Scottish churchmen and politicians, for Colville, Wood and Rutherford were numbered among the nation's leading disputants. Moreover, the fact that this acquaintance was formed in an atmosphere of professorial strain and tension was also of advantage, in that

-
1. Hume Brown writes that the three parties "were more disposed to fly at each other's throats than to make common cause against the invader" (*Ibid.*).
 2. The Resolutioner, Robert Baillie, alluded to it in 1654: "Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. James Wood keep St. Andrewes and Fyfe prettie right: Mr. Rutherford, to the uttermost of his power, advances the other partie" (LJRB, iii.248). Until the rise of the controversy over the Public Resolutions Rutherford had enjoyed harmonious relations with Wood (vide *Ibid.*, ii.406 & iii.94) and even afterward, despite their professional dissociation in 1657, he held him in high regard as "ane honest man" (vide Robert Wodrow, *Analecta*, ii.118 and *A Testimony left by Mr. Rutherford... Before his Death*, p.19). The closing years of his life brought the removal of the last traces of acerbity from their relationship. In his *Testimony* (*supra*) he "heartily

it helped to condition the ministerial aspirant for the 'ecclesiastical warfare' in which he would soon become engaged--both within the bounds of his parish and beyond them in the presbyterial, provincial and general assemblies. St. Mary's, therefore, was more than a theological school: it was a theological crucible where the student's traditional or newly-formed ecclesiastical attachments, his moral courage and fidelity to principle were tried to the very core. Under such circumstances it cannot excite wonder that the supreme spiritual crisis of Cargill's life--augmented, as James Wodrow would seem to suggest, by yet other undefined trials and temptations--coincided with his period of study at St. Mary's, and settled once and for all not only the fundamental question of his interest in Christ but the correlative question of his alliance with the Protesters in the cause of the Covenanters. The settlement of this latter 'interest' will merit particular attention in the next chapter. In the meantime there is due one final observation on the influence of the masters.

It was noted earlier that when Rutherford, Colville and Wood re-signed the Solemn League and Covenant at its "Second Swearing" on 31 December 1648,¹ the unity of mind and spirit

forgave Colville "all offence he had done him" and Wood "all Wrongs, he has done me" and warmly exhorted both to adhere to the government of the Kirk of Scotland and to the doctrine of the Covenant (*Ibid.*, p.18 and Robert Wodrow, *Analecta*, i.235).

1. In conformity with the "appointment of the Commissione of the Generall Assemblie and the Committee of Estates" (vide St. Andrews' copy, p.31 of signatures) to counteract the Covenant's "most foule and haynous breach and violation" (vide SMP, p.47) by the Engagement proceedings.

implied by their act was more apparent than real. The evidence for this comes to light with the adoption of the Public Resolutions by "churche and stait" less than a year afterward, at which time their 'oneness' with respect to the issue at stake was exposed as little more than a facade, and from that time forward for well-nigh a decade St. Mary's College, like the nation, was turned into an arena of discord and contention. To this (as has been made evident), a variety of contemporary chroniclers have borne abundant witness. But there was another side to the picture--a side that has received remarkably less attention on the part of both contemporary and later observers. For, notwithstanding the profound and heated disagreement of professors on what was decidedly the most incendiary issue of the mid-seventeenth century and beyond, there was, below the scene of combat, a fundamental unity that remained solidly intact throughout that decade of discord and which preserved as well the essential unity of the college outlook and curriculum. Specifically, it consisted in their possession of a common theological perspective: an adherence to the Reformed or Calvinistic system of faith.¹ Thus bound, the three St.

1. Vide, for example Colville's "Theses Theologicae de Natura Christi Divina et Humana" (Thesaurus Disputationum Theologicarum in Alma Sedanensi Academia ed. Iacobus de Vaux, ii. 823-5) which touch at points on Calvinistic distinctions and Wood's opposition to James Goodwin's Socinian work, Imputatio Fidei, or a Treatise of Justification, published in 1642 (vide Robert Wodrow's Analecta, i.169 and DNB, viii.145,7). Rutherford's Calvinistic position--even supralapsarian (G.D. Henderson, The Burning Bush, p.71)--receives expression in a variety of his works, some of which have been noted above.

Mary's divines provided their students with a fundamentally unified and coherent programme of divinity instruction and one in keeping with the theological viewpoint expressed in the Covenant to which they gave common subscription on two occasions. St. Mary's College in this era, therefore, was a veritable bastion and sallyport of "the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland"--if not altogether of that Church's form of polity and discipline.¹ The mention of two cognate emphases will bear this out more particularly.

The first concerns the attitude of the masters toward

-
1. Quoted from the Solemn League and Covenant, Part I. Previous to Rutherford's admission in 1639, however, the College was theologically divided. Dr. Patrick Panther, Professor of Church History and Theology (vide SMS, p.215 and IJRB, i.425), had been deposed the year preceding on charges of adhering to "the Popish schoolmen and Fathers...Popish justification...the grossest Pelagianisme in originall sin, let be in other points of Arminianisme" (Ibid., i.148,9). He had been admitted to the New College in 1628 (SMS, p.215). Principal Robert Howie, therefore, was the only master in the College when Rutherford was first appointed. Succeeding Melville in 1607, Howie--a staunch Calvinist and Federalist (vide infra)--was no longer the "forthright supporter" of presbyterianism he had been for several years following his return from the Continent (vide J.K. Cameron, Op.Cit., p.lxiv & n). Due perhaps to the strong royalist and episcopalian influence in Aberdeen, his sympathies from about the year 1597 had gradually shifted to the King's party (p.lxvi) where they remained until its overthrow in 1638 (p.lxxvii). In that year, as has been seen (vide supra p.121), his ecclesiastical "outlook...turned full circle" when "he openly allied himself to the Presbyterian cause by signing the Covenant" in company with certain of his university colleagues (J.K. Cameron, Op.Cit., p.lxxviii). He was thus able to continue as Principal of the College until his death.

Scholastic Philosophy. When Russell Kirk writes that

Andrew Melville's reforms were abolished in 1621, and [that] a Scholastic curriculum defied the tooth of time far into the seventeenth century,¹

he fails to explain that that 'Scholasticism' which survived the radical reforms of the "new foundation" was little more than the vestigial remains of the system which had once flourished--a mere form which had been largely robbed of its substance. While this change had been a gradual one, the man most responsible for bringing it about was Melville himself, ^{he} having introduced into Glasgow, Edinburgh and St. Andrews his "academic revolt against the authority of Aristotle".² The chief inspirer had been his Parisian professor, Peter Ramus, but to some extent the way had been prepared for him at St. Andrews by a predecessor, John Rutherford, Professor of Philosophy and Provost of St. Salvator's in the mid-sixteenth century, whose De Arte Disserendi discloses an anti-Scholastic spirit akin to that of Ramus.³ But it remained for Samuel

1. St. Andrews, p.123.

2. M.L. Loane, Op.Cit., p.55. Vide also Thomas M'Crie, Life of Andrew Melville, i.73,4,169-71 and S.E. Morison's concise account of the attitude of Melville toward Aristotle (The Founding of Harvard College, pp.132-5).

3. Vide J.B. Salmond ed., Op.Cit., pp.62,3 and Thomas M'Crie, Op.Cit., ii.367-71. It is interesting to note that Ramus defined logic as "ars disserendi" (The Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., xxii.881). Fundamentally, his 'reform' of Aristotle's logic and rhetoric was a reaction against the 'Latinised Aristotle' of the Scholastics (vide Ibid., and also Perry Miller, The New England Mind--The Seventeenth Century, pp.116-8 and passim), his contention being "that he had rescued the true meaning of 'the Philosopher'"

Rutherford and his theological confrères a century later to bring that revolt to fruition.¹ When, therefore, in 1642 the Commissioners of Assembly directed that the philosophy of Aristotle be taught at St. Andrews, it was a philosophy that had been 'adjusted' to conform to the prescriptions of a new order and a new "authority", or, in the words of T.M. Knox, to satisfy "the interests of orthodoxy rather than of original speculation".² The prime reason for its retention in the curriculum may be inferred from the Commissioners' belief that

both reason and experience do teach, that no exercise can be more profitable for Students of Philosophy then Scolastik disputes.³

Thus, for the students, it was considered indispensable as a mental discipline and as an apologetical aid, the best illustration of which is to be found in Rutherford himself. While essentially rejecting the "Metaphysicks" of the "dry Schoolmen", he drew heavily upon their system of logic to sharpen

[Aristotle] from the misconceptions of his followers" (*Ibid.*, p.313). Hastings Rashdall refers to Ramus as "the revolutioniser of the traditional Logic" ("The Medieval Universities", *The Cambridge Medieval History* ed. J.R. Tanner, C.W. Previté-Orton & Z.N. Brooke, vi.576).

1. Melville's influence had been introduced into Edinburgh through Robert Rollock and thence to Rutherford himself (vide Thomas M'Crie, *Op.Cit.*, ii.420; A.T. Innes, *Op.Cit.*, p.129; A.Grant, *The Story of the University of Edinburgh*, ii.238; and Robert Gilmour, *Op.Cit.*, p.26). As early as 1628, Colville, in the 'Corollaria' to his "Theses Theologicae", had unequivocally rejected as "false" the Aristotelian conception of an eternally existent universe (vide Iacobus de Vaux ed. *Op.Cit.*, ii.823, no.9) and Baillie records (vide *supra*) that one of the causes of Panther's deposition in 1638 was his adherence to "the Popish schoolmen".
2. Vide J.B. Salmond ed., *Op.Cit.*, p.66.
3. EOD, iii.206.

the edge of argument in his classroom lectures, in various polemical treatises and even on the floor of Assembly debate.¹ This virtual reduction of Scholasticism from a metaphysic to a methodology on his part is, however, but characteristic of its wider fate (especially in the Covenanter era) in seventeenth century Scotland. If, generally, unaffected by the rise of Cartesian rationalism,² it mainly managed to defy "the tooth of time" by serving as a logical or apologetic 'handmaid' of the Reformed Theology. Its philosophic pre-suppositions had been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

A second evidence of the strength of the "reformed religion" at St. Mary's during Rutherford's régime may be discerned in the prominence given--especially by Rutherford³--

-
1. Vide, for example, his use of the syllogism at the General Assembly of 1640 in order to confound the opposition (LRJB, i.252,3). Taylor Innes exposes his Scholastic temperament when he depicts him as "the intellectual gladiator, the rejoicing and remorseless logician, the divider of words, the distinguisher of thoughts, the hater of doubt and ambiguity,...the incessant and determined disputant, the passionate admirer of sequence and system and order, in small things as in great,--in the corner of the corner of an argument" (Op.Cit., p.137).
 2. This is clearly shown by Prof. T.M. (now Prin. Sir Malcolm) Knox in his contribution on the philosophers of St. Salvator's College (vide J.B. Salmond ed., Op.Cit., pp.65,6) and by Emile Boutroux in his discussion of the Cartesian influence in Europe ("Descartes and Cartesianism", The Cambridge Modern History ed. A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero & Stanley Leathes, iv. 776-99--especially p.791).
 3. While Rutherford was the chief literary exponent of federalism at St. Mary's (vide infra), it was implicit in Wood's doctrine of the Church. In refuting Lockyer's "Church-Covenant" theory (vide A Little Stone, Pretended to be out of the Mountain, pp.24,56,133 & 347,8) he (Wood) frequently cites with approval Rutherford's much fuller treatment of the subject in his The Due Right of Presbyteries (pp.83-135) wherein it is affirmed that the existence of the

to a concept described by William Hastie as being "particularly and essentially typical of the Reformed Theology"¹--that of Federal or Covenant Theology. Cradled on the Continent and introduced into Scotland shortly before 1600, it became "the familiar commonplace of the whole Covenanting period of the seventeenth century" and it has continued since as "the characteristic doctrine of the Scottish Church".² But even by Cargill's day its Scottish foundations had been made secure and a brief sketch of St. Mary's contribution, from the laying of the first stone, will indicate something of the total force of its influence upon him.

The comparatively recent study of the late Professor G. D. Henderson reveals that there was an unbroken line of Covenant Theology in the St. Mary's curriculum from the time of Andrew Melville's principalship to that of Samuel Ruther-

Visible Church is grounded not in any Church-Covenant made by its members but in the "covenant of free grace, betwixt God and sinners, founded upon the surety Christ Iesus; laid hold on by us, when we believe in Christ" (p.85; vide also pp.93,7). Though Colville makes no allusion to federalism in his "Theses Theologicae" (vide supra) the concept was probably implicit in his theology also in the light of his Continental reformed affinities.

1. The Theology of the Reformed Church, p.193.
2. Ibid., p.203. Vide D.J. Bruggink's The Theology of Thomas Boston (unpublished thesis), Ch.3, for a valuable account of the rise and spread of the federal concept of theology, noting especially pp.107,8. Two earlier accounts of some value are "Covenant Theology" by W. Adams Brown (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics ed. James Hastings, iv.216-24) and "The Federal School of Theology" by Perry Miller (Op. Cit., Appendix B, pp.502-5).

furd--a period covering some eighty years.¹ As early as 1601 Melville, in his Lectures on Romans, was referring to "the Covenant made with Adam...as de foedere non solum operum sed etiam gratiae" which, as Henderson observes, no doubt witnessed "to what had for some years been the burden of the teaching at St. Andrews".² This observation is strengthened by the fact that the noted federalists, John Forbes of Alford and Middelburg (a kinsman of Melville³) and Robert Rollock of Edinburgh,

-
1. Melville was appointed Principal in 1580 (FES, vii.417) and Rutherford held the office until his death in 1661 (Ibid., vii.419).
 2. Op.Cit., p.68. Concerning the ambiguity of the Latin "foedus", vide D.J. Bruggink, Op.Cit., p.87ff.
 3. Thomas M'Crie, Op.Cit., ii.292n and DNB, vii.402. In his A Treatise Tending to Clear the Doctrine of Justification Forbes, in expounding the doctrine of Adoption (Ch.4, pp. 7-10), refers several times to "the covenant" and later, in a similar context, to "the Covenant of God with Man" (i.e., with Abraham and his seed; Ch.14, pp.42-4). In Ch.22 he speaks of "the covenant of the Gospell" and "the covenant of Peace, betwixt God and man" which are confirmed by the blood of the Mediator (p.83), and in Ch.24 of "the seales of the covenant" (p.100). His adherence to the federalist principle is disclosed at the close of Ch.22 where he sets forth the distinction between "the covenant of workes" (or, "of the Law") and "the covenant of grace" (or, "of the Gospell"), citing biblical evidence that Christ is Mediator of the second covenant only and that it alone, therefore, can rightly be regarded as our "covenant of Peace" (p.84). Forbes' position on Federalism merits particular notice in order to distinguish it from that of his nephew, Dr. John of Corse (vide The House of Forbes ed. Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, pp.316,7) who "was a strong Calvinist and predestinarian without adhering to federal theology" though he did represent "the kind of scholastic theology that came to be taught in Scotland" (vide "Baptism in the Church of Scotland", Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, 1958, pp.711-3).

were closely associated with Melville during the first years of his principalship, that is, from as early as the year 1580, and were probably influenced by him.¹ The evidence, therefore, for Melville having been the first to herald this Continental concept on his native soil is indeed weighty.

While Rollock appears to have been "the first [in Scotland] to print the precise phrase foedus operum...and...to enlarge upon the contrast between the Covenants" (1596),² Robert Howie, Melville's successor at St. Andrews, had in 1587 while a student at Herborn, published a treatise which reflected the federal teaching of his professor, Caspar Olevianus.³ In it he defended the thesis that 'the Word of God is the divine testimony of the gratuitous covenant contained in the canonical books of both Testaments'. Three years later he brought this 'new theology' to Aberdeen on

-
1. Vide G.D. Henderson, Op.Cit., pp.68,9. Forbes was educated at the University of St. Andrews receiving his M.A. in 1583 and in later years he maintained contact with Melville on the Continent (vide Thomas M'Crie, Op.Cit., ii.292 and DNB, vii.402). Rollock served as regent at St. Salvator's under Melville from 1580-83 (Thomas M'Crie, Op.Cit., i.166 and A. Grant, Op.Cit., i.132 & ii.278).
 2. G.D. Henderson, Op.Cit., p.68. It is this, perhaps, that led Alexander Grant to conclude that he was probably "the first 'federal theologian' in Great Britain" (Op.Cit., ii.242; vide also W. Hastie, Op.Cit., p.203).
 3. Theses Philosophicae: Quas Deo Opt. Max. Favente, Praeside...Johanne Althusio I.V.L. in inclyta Schola Herbornensi Nassoviana disputandas (vide J.K. Cameron, Op.Cit., p.xxv & n). A treatise published three years later at Basel reflected a similar emphasis--his De Reconciliatione Hominis cum Deo, seu de Humani Generis Redemptione, Tractatio Theologica (vide Ibid., pp.xlv & xlvi, Thomas M'Crie, Op.Cit., ii.193-6 and G.D. Henderson, Op.Cit., p.67).

commencing his ministry in St. Nicholas Kirk¹ and thereafter, for four years as Principal of Marischal College (1594-98) and for some thirty-five years as Principal of St. Mary's, his teaching provided a favourable environment for the nurturing of the later federalist Patrick Gillespie, and perhaps James Durham as well,² and prepared the way for the fuller development of the concept by his own successor in the principalship, Samuel Rutherford.

In the year of Cargill's entrance into St. Mary's, Rutherford published his A Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist,³ the underlying object of which was to refute antinomianism and related "heresies" and to present a positive and comprehensive exposition of "the Law and the Gospel". The "two Covenants" of Works and Grace are implicit throughout even though it is in only one short chapter that he devotes attention expressly to them.⁴ This brevity of treatment, however, was remedied

1. FES, vii.418.

2. Vide G.D. Henderson, Op.Cit., pp.70,1 and FES, iii.456,62. Concerning Gillespie's contribution, vide Robert Wodrow, Analecta, i.168,9. It is to be noted that both men were close colleagues of Donald Cargill during his ministry in the Barony--Patrick Gillespie ministering in the Outer High Kirk (the nave of the Cathedral) to the East parish of the city and holding in conjunction the principalship of the University, and James Durham ministering in the High Kirk (the Cathedral) to the West parish of St. Mungo. Gillespie "became one of the leaders of the Protesters, and induced the Presbytery, as well as the Synod of Glasgow, to adhere to them" (FES, iii.462). Durham had a most tangible influence upon Cargill through his A Commentarie Upon the Book of the Revelation which was cited by the martyr preliminary to the Torwood Excommunication to attest to the Scriptural authority behind the sentence (vide pp.140-4 and also Sermons Delivered in Times of Persecution ed. James Kerr, p.495). Durham's second wife was formerly the third wife of Zachary Boyd, Cargill's predecessor at the Barony (FES, iii.392 & 456).

3. Vide supra. p.173, n.1.

4. II.LXVI, pp.128-31.

seven years later when his The Covenant of Life Opened was brought from the press.¹ In it he not only dealt in extenso with each but followed the trend of a noble retinue of federalists² in 'treating of' a third covenant--the "Covenant of Suretyship or Redemption"³ ---which was made in eternity between the Father and the Son and which provided a 'sure' basis for God's ordering and execution of the Covenant of Grace and in a manner wholly consistent with His will and purpose in the Covenant of Works for

the representation of the failure of the Covenant of Works in the Fall was often expressed so as to give the appearance of a dualism in the purpose of God (as shown by the controversies between the infralapsarians and the supralapsarians), and...the passage from the state of integrity to the state of corruption was often represented as implying a failure on the part of God to realise His own eternal purpose with man, [whereas, as Rutherford shows,] these were only imperfect presentations and modifications of the system arising from a crude historical view of the Covenant of Works that misapprehended its ideal substance. The realisation of the Covenant of Grace exhibits the complete execution in time of the divine purpose in eternity. . .It is the same system of redemption all through, namely, redemption by grace; and the stages in the history of redemption differ only in their external form or medium, and in the degree of clearness and fulness in the manifestation of grace.⁴

Thus, prompted by such misunderstandings and misrepresentations

1. Published in 1655.

2. That is, of Musculus, Cowper, Dickson and Durham (vide G. D. Henderson, Op.Cit., p.70).

3. Vide Chapter 5 and passim.

4. William Hastie, Op.Cit., pp.197,9,200. To indicate the temporal and practical distinctions between the Covenant of Redemption and the Covenants of Works (or Nature) and Grace, Rutherford in this work frequently groups the latter under the common designation: Covenant of Reconciliation or Mediation (vide, for example, Chapters 8 & 11, pp.308-10,51 and

within the federal camp and, to some extent, by the virulent attacks of opponents from without, Rutherford undertook the preparation of this elaborate supplement to the literature then in print. The result of his endeavour, besides revealing that in him a long and significant tradition at St. Mary's had attained the high point of its development and influence, throws light on one of the subjects that he would have been treating with a special urgency and intent in the classroom during those years when Cargill was at his feet. For Cargill it was an emphasis with a double import for as well as giving evidence of the indoctrination he received in the Reformed Theology--of which the federal idea was "particularly and

compare with Forbes' "covenant of Peace"). The view that the federal concept is a 'neo-scholastic, rationalistic schematisation' of the Reformed or Covenant Theology has recently been forcefully set forth by the Church of Scotland's "Special Commission on Baptism" (vide the interim reports of 1958, pp.706-45 and 1959, pp.632-52) as it was earlier by D.J. Bruggink (Op.Cit., p.90ff) who devoted special attention as well to the 'motivating factors behind the development of Federal Theology' (pp.108-26). Other areas of theology were similarly 'schematised' by the reformers, however. Forbes of Alford (*supra*), e.g., 'scholasticises' his exposition of the doctrine of Justification (Op.Cit., Ch.22ff) by analysing it in terms of Aristotle's four causes ("the foure principall points controverted"): the efficient, material, formal and "suiect iustified" (final). Furthermore, he speaks of the "active" and "passive" obedience of Christ (Ch.23, pp.93,4) and of its counterpart in the elect (Ch.28, pp.145-7). It is worthy of note in this connection that an attempt was made in 1832 by R.D. Hampden of Oxford to demonstrate the influence of Scholasticism (in its widest application) on Christian Theology [Bampton Lecture]--an attempt that aroused prolonged and heated controversy (vide DNB, viii.1148-50 & xvi.496-504 and also a collection of pamphlets in the National Library of Scotland pertaining to the parties (chiefly Pusey vs. Hampden) and issues in dispute).

essentially typical"--it provides some insight into his grounding in the Covenanting Theology--to which the federal idea was equally indigenous and fundamental. In a unique and positive sense, therefore, Federalism (or better, Covenant Theology) constituted the vital nexus¹ between the "reformed religion in

-
1. While Covenant Theology in relation to the Reformed and Covenanting theologies may be thus expressed by virtue of the fact that it (Covenant Theology) embodied the "idea" that was common to both, there is evidence to suggest that it was by more than a common concept that they were linked. Even though the late Prof. G.D. Henderson, in his thorough study of the background and growth of these two movements in Scotland, failed to find any connection between them save for their common possession of the "Covenant idea" (Op. Cit., p.61ff) yet there is, in the substance of his study, latent evidence that they were historically as well as conceptually related.

Just as Knox was the moving spirit behind the "reformed religion in the Church of Scotland" and, in a sense, of the Covenanting movement—which is generally regarded as having extended from his "band" at Dun (1556) to the "Children's Bond" at Pentland (1683) (vide e.g., D. Hay Fleming's The Story of the Scottish Covenants in Outline, pp. 6, 70ff) and John Lumsden's The Covenants of Scotland, pp. 11, 2.)—so it appears to have been the rise and spread of Covenant Theology in Scotland that gave to both the "reformed religion" and the Covenanting movement their distinctive and permanent character.

The Covenant theologians of Scotland have concertedly treated Covenant Theology as an integral part of the Reformed Theology, or, in the words of William Hastie, "as exhibiting the Principle of Religious Development in the Reformed system of doctrine" (Op. Cit., p. 192), but neither they nor historians in general have tended to see such an integral relationship between Covenant and Covenanting Theology. Instead, the tendency on part of both theologian and historian has been to see little more than a nominal resemblance between them. That there was a deeper relationship between them, however, is suggested by the fact that the movement begun by Knox at Dun was not, strictly speaking, the Covenanting movement until the year 1596--the year, significantly, when the phrase "foedus operum" appeared in print in Scotland for the first time (vide supra p. 185). Between 1556 and 1596, to be sure, the Covenanting movement did exist in spirit and principle in the form of the many disparate

the Church of Scotland" and her Covenanting movement, and thus provided the essential point of unity for the conducting of his future ministry as both a "reformed" and "Covenanted" churchman.

d. CONCLUSION:

In the lectures and sermons of Donald Cargill that have survived there is unmistakable evidence that the influence of the three St. Mary's divines successfully counter-balanced the

"bands, "pactions" etc. that were made throughout the country, but it was not until the "new League with God" made by the General Assembly in Edinburgh on 30 March 1596 (vide John Lumsden, Op.Cit., p.172) that the word "covenant" (instead of "band" etc.) was actually employed. By then, Covenant Theology had been in vogue in Scotland for some fifteen years (vide supra pp.184,5) and it seems probable, therefore, that its wider influence and implications, through the already established "biblical associations" (G.D. Henderson, Op.Cit., p.65) of public covenanting, led to the appropriation of the term by the four hundred ministers of the Assembly. This probability is strengthened by the fact that "The Covenant Renewit in the Presbyterie of St Androis" in July 1596 brought into distinct juxtaposition both "The Covenant of God...maid with Adam" and "The Covenantants of Ezra and Nehemia" (vide The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville ed. Robert Pitcairn, p.360,1)--as was also true of the "Soun of the Doctrine of the Covenant"--with whose composition Andrew Melville was doubtless concerned (vide G.D. Henderson, Op.Cit., pp.67,8)--that was renewed in the Synod of Fife in September of the same year (vide Robert Pitcairn ed., Op.Cit., pp.362-7).

Thus, this historical association between Covenant Theology and the Covenanting movement, in addition to their commonly accepted conceptual relationship, indicates the more clearly how it was that Covenant Theology came to be "the familiar commonplace of the whole Covenanting period of the seventeenth century".

prelatic and Erastian influence that had dominated his philosophy instruction, that the substance of their theological¹ and, to some degree, ecclesiastical teaching lived on in him, and that, through him, the substance of their teaching was faithfully translated from the language of the classroom to that of the common folk and transmitted to them in Cathedral crypt and countryside alike.

The remaining influences which impinged on him within the University and the Burgh of St. Andrews during his years there must now be considered.

1. For the strong Calvinistic emphasis that pervaded his preaching vide Sermons Delivered in Times of Persecution in Scotland, ed. James Kerr, pp.473,5,7,80,4,6,503,24,30,1, and for an example of his judgement on the Schoolmen and his federalist attachment vide Ibid., p.524.

CHAPTER VI

B. FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

II. SCHOOL

(B) ST. ANDREWS

(III) The Larger Influence

a. University

b. Burgh

1. Local

2. National

(III) The Larger Influence

In examining the rôle of St. Andrews University as a formative influence in the life of Donald Cargill, first attention has been devoted to the regimen of masters and regents whose time and sphere of labour coincided closely with his own. It has been observed that this body of preceptors, collectively considered--from Gleg at one extreme to Rutherford at the other, boxed the compass of existing theological, ecclesiastical and political attachments and that they were, for the most part, loyal and unyielding proponents of their respective positions: in precept and example, in classroom and in common room and frequently in the public affairs of Church and State. Under their influence Cargill was bound to become intimately conversant with the 'trubulous' issues then dividing men at every level, and this suggests, in turn, that they played no little part in determining his own outlook and position--both of which, it appears, were settled and sealed before he came to the end of his divinity training.¹

a. University

At the same time, the range of influence Cargill encountered in the course of his eight- or nine-year sojourn in the home of Scotland's "eldest mother of learning"² cannot wholly be measured in terms of the individual views and attachments of her professors. Within those academic premises the

1. Vide next chapter.

2. John Herkless, "The Pious Founders", Votiva Tabella, p.48.

impact of yet other forces and conditions was brought to bear upon both them and him for this was a period when his alma mater not only enjoyed much of her "ancient prestige as the seminary of the sons of the nobility and higher orders" but when she enjoyed "a condition of prosperity which was never before or afterwards exceeded".¹ Several factors attest to this salubrious state of affairs and force of influence. There was, for example, the assignment in November 1641 to her use of "handsome portions of the old revenues of the Archbishopric and Priory"--an aftermath of the destruction of the 'old order' in 1638 and the consequent deposition of Archbishop Spottiswoode.² Pursuant to this, in 1642, the Commissioners of Assembly accepted on her behalf a benefaction of one thousand pounds (Scots) from Alexander Henderson "for perfecting the house appointed for the Library, and for the Public School destinat for the solemm meetings of the University"³ and, concurrently, they inaugurated the plan pro-

-
1. D.R. Kerr, St Andrews in 1645-46, pp.53,4. There were, for example, over two hundred students then attending the three colleges (Ibid.). The average number of students who matriculated at the University in the decade from 1641 to 1650 was 59.6 (vide J.M. Anderson, Supplement to the University of St. Andrews, pp.16,7). Moreover, "the fact that Parliament [at this time] so often took into consideration the affairs of the University, and so often made efforts to ensure its standing and efficiency, is a good indication of how deeply its welfare and vicissitudes affected the mind of the nation" (D.R. Kerr, Op.Cit., p.54).
 2. R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, p.65. Vide APS, V.379,80,649 and VI. ii. 148,9,51,2.
 3. EOD, iii.205. On 20 March 1643 the Commission directed James Sword (himself a Commissioner, burgh burgess and, later, provost of the city) "to have the same compleat, and

posed by the Assembly the year before calling for sweeping administrative, curricular and religious reforms--a programme that was destined to command their close and concerted attention for some seven years thereafter and from which Cargill was among the first of her students to benefit. Within these three areas of reform, therefore, certain of their most significant undertakings (so far as present purposes are concerned) deserve special notice.

Administrative. Two administrative offices came under the Commissioners' particular scrutiny--those of Chancellor and Conservator of Privileges. Both, as R.G. Cant observes, "had been vacant since the fall of the old regime"¹ and a "search"

fully ready for imputting of the books therein, betwixt and the last of May next at farthest" and, on the same date, authorised a committee of five Commissioners "to convene some day in the first week of Junij nixt, and to receive the whole books pertaining to the publick Library, and to search for such as are in wanting. Thereafter they shall make a perfect Catalogue of all, and see the same sett up in good order in the New Library. Ane double of the Catalogue to be given to the Bibliothecarius; another double to be kept by the Rector [Samuel Rutherford]" (Ibid., p.210). The first Librarian under the new order was John Govan; in 1644 he was succeeded by Thomas Lenton, son of a former provost (vide Henderson's Benefaction ed. J.B. Salmond & G.H. Bushnell, p.48 and FES, v.68). Thus, by the time of Cargill's advent as a philosophy student, both building and books were, for the first time, in a complete and orderly condition (vide J.M. Anderson's "The Library", Votiva Tabella, pp.101,2,8,9 and R.G. Cant's The University of St. Andrews, pp.58-60, 6n). The "first catalogue of the new University Library is estimated to have listed about 450 volumes" (J.B. Salmond & G.H. Bushnell eds., Henderson's Benefaction, p.48).

1. The University of St. Andrews, p.66.

into "the points properlie belonging to"¹ them was deemed necessary. The result was that a notable Covenanter, John Campbell, Earl of Loudon and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, was secured (evidently in 1643) to serve in the former office and Mr. James Reid of Pitlethie, himself a Commissioner, in the latter.²

Curricular. The next year (1644), correspondent with the Commissioners' general policy of reforming the philosophy and divinity curricula and methods of instruction³ --much of which, however, may not have gone "beyond the stage of paper planning",⁴ a singularly important contribution was made to the academic well-being of St. Salvator's. By virtue of the beneficence of the Earl of Cassilis as head of the House of Kennedy, Patron of the College and a member of the Commission, Parliamentary approval was granted for the founding in it of a Chair of Humanity.⁵ This meant that, for the first time since the College's foundation in 1450, classical studies were given official recognition by her regents and accorded

1. EOD, iii.209.

2. Vide R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, p.66; R.K. Hannay, "The Rulers of the University", Votiva Tabella, p.64; and The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland ed. P. Hume Brown, vii.439.

3. For a full statement of their 'appointments' vide EOD, iii.205,6.

4. R.G. Cant, The College of St. Salvator, p.178.

5. Vide APS, VI.i.184; EOD, iii.209; R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, pp.67 & n.68 and The College of St. Salvator, pp.178,9; and Votiva Tabella, pp.141,2. A Chair of Humanity had been founded at St. Leonard's in 1620 (vide The College of St. Leonard ed. John Herkless & R.K. Hannay, pp.43-5).

due place in the course of study. Perhaps, therefore, none of the Commissioners' curricular reforms emphasised more tellingly than did this the fact that a new era in the arts and divinity was being born just at the time Cargill was making his start at the Old College.¹

Religious. With respect to the religious and moral welfare of the students, the activities of the Commissioners were no less energetic. New rules and regulations were laid down concerning matters such as (1) the duty of the three principals to "say the grace before and after meat at dinner and supper", to lead their respective assemblies of masters and students in the "publick prayers every night...for sowing the seeds of piety in there harts" and to "exercise" the students in

the heads of the Catechisme...that in the tyme of the course of four yeares they may be acquainted with the whole grounds of Christian doctrine as it is taught and professed in the Kirk of Scotland, for there edification in the faith;

(2) the duty of

-
1. Mr. T. Erskine Wright, Professor of Humanity at St. Salvator's from 1948 to 1962 (St. Andrews University Calendar, 1962-63, p.82), in discussing the history of Humanism at St. Salvator's over a span of five centuries, distinguishes the second of four periods into which it may naturally be divided as commencing in the year 1644 with the founding

every Regent, on the Lord's day, at sevin hours in the morning, [to] teach unto his schollers the contraversies of Religion...that he may go throw the whole contraversies in the space of foure yeares; and in the like manner, at fyve houres in the afternoone, he sall examine the classe upon the sermons which they have been hearing that day, and upon the lesson which was taught them in the morning,--every ane of the schollers having ane English Byble in his hand, that they may be acquainted with the grounds of truth against errors, from the text of Holy Scripture;

(3) the responsibility of the "Principallis of the...two [New and Old] Colledges, and such other public Professors of Divinity as are preachers" to conduct the services "in the Town [Holy Trinity] Kirk¹ so often as the necessary effaires of there ordinary chaarge may permit"; and (4) the "laufull" and "forbidden" forms of student recreation.² Essentially the Commissioners' objective was twofold: first, to take advantage of the full round of student activities--within the classroom and outside of it, on week-days and Sabbath days--in order to 'acquaint them with the whole ground of

of the Chair of Humanism and he remarks that it (the second period) witnessed "the establishment of a Chair of Greek [1702] and the disappearance of the last traces of the traditional medieval system ("Humanism and the Humanists", Veterum Laudes ed. J.B. Salmond, p.40). He adds: "Classical studies...now occupy the pride of place which in former centuries was accorded to the Scholastic philosophy" (Ibid., p.42).

1. "At St. Leonard's, no special arrangements were considered necessary, the kirk being virtually part of the college and under the ministry of the college Principal" (R.G. Cant, The University of St. Andrews, p.68).
2. EOD, iii.205,6.

Christian doctrine', and, second, to co-ordinate the duties of the Principals, Professors and Regents of Philosophy with those of the Professors of Divinity and ministers of the Town Kirk so that under their combined instruction and influence the 'seed of piety' as well as of knowledge would be most effectively 'sown in the students' hearts'.

As a programme of reform it was ambitious, imaginative and comprehensive but it was also somewhat idealistic, for its practical implementation presupposed of masters and ministers a degree of unity that did not exist.¹ Among them

-
1. Aside from the internal divisions of the masters and regents of the three colleges, there was an unmistakable lack of rapport between them and the Assembly Commissioners. In March 1643 the Commissioners, finding that none of the reform measures had even been "red" or "publicly intimate"--much less adopted--at the two philosophy colleges and that the New College Masters had only in small measure complied, charged the "Principalls and Maisteris" on pain of "strick censure [deprivation or otherwise]...by the Visitatores at there severall meetings" to remedy the situation by a date left unrecorded (EOD, iii.208). The Commission records contain no further reference to the matter so that a reasonable compliance with the ultimatum may well have followed.

The ecclesiastical and political extremes represented by Gleg and Rutherford in the University during these years were manifest to an almost similar degree in the two ministers of the College Kirk attended by Cargill--Robert Blair (First Charge) and Andrew Honyman (Second Charge). Blair's deposition at the Restoration was followed shortly thereafter by Honyman's translation to the First Charge, his subsequent elevation to the Archdeaconry of St. Andrews and, later still, to the Bishopric of Orkney (vide FES, v.233 & vii.354). Similarly, during these years, the ministers of the College Kirk (First Charge) were divided from those of St. Leonard's parish--Blair and Rutherford, on the one hand, from Andrew Bruce and Walter Comrie, on the other (vide supra p.128).

from the year of its inception (1642), and despite the fact that all were gathered within the common fold of covenant uniformity, the controversies concerning polity and politics were as real as the 'controversies of religion' they were called upon to teach, for, in them, as has been noted, the incipient forms of Engager, Resolutioner and Protester were already present and were destined quickly to become full blown. Consequently the close and many-sided link forged by the Commissioners between these mentors and their students to ensure "there edification in the faith" had for Cargill the obverse effect of bringing him the more directly into touch with the conflict of thought that led up to the Engagement proceedings, and from which stemmed, in turn, that malign trichotomy of Church and Nation. Despite all the Commissioners' efforts and precautions, therefore, the tares of division became much inter-mixed with the "seeds of piety" in the seed-lip of the sowers so that it was indeed a hybrid planting that Cargill received from those who supervised his training.

b. Burgh

The contribution of the University to the theological, ecclesiastical and political thought of Donald Cargill cannot be wholly and finally appreciated until it has been viewed against the background of yet one other force of influence that was brought to bear upon him in the course of his student association with St. Andrews--the influence of the burgh

itself, the wider setting of both school and scholar. Just as his academic sojourn in Aberdeen had taken place in a unique period of the 'Braif Toune's' civil and religious history, even so his St. Andrews schooling between 1643 and 1652 brought him within the bounds of that 'Oxfordian' "burghe toune and citie"¹ in one of the most colourful and eventful decades of its post-Reformation history. Secure from "the lines of the marchings and counter-marchings of the contending armies"² of Crown and Covenant, this 'old grey city by the sea',³ appears during these years to have benefited accordingly, for, in addition to retaining its high and long standing position among the burghs in Scotland, it rose to a new eminence on the national scene as touching the affairs of both church and state. This "renaissance" was, to be sure, a partial and temporary one but, coinciding as it did with Cargill's years of study there, some attention must be devoted to those features that may well have modified or tempered his religious and political thinking.

1. Local Influences

The history of pre- and post-Reformation St. Andrews reads almost like a 'tale of two cities'. J.M. Anderson, in his Handbook to the City and University of St. Andrews,

1. So termed in APS, V.524.

2. D.R. Kerr, St Andrews in 1645-46, p.38. Kerr also observes that "Perhaps no county in Scotland has so few traditions of warfare or so many memorials of peace as Fifeshire" (p.39).

3. Vide a collection of poems pertaining to St. Andrews entitled The "Old Grey City" by the Sea by H.N.F.

represents the 'former' as having been, "in outward appearance at any rate, an intensely 'religious' city" where "ecclesiastics had the last word" in any civil dispute--"an important and at times a gay city" where "the streets were kept lively by the constant coming and going of church dignitaries" and where "Kings and Queens were frequent visitors". The 'latter' he depicts as "'but the ghost of a fine city'--'the carcass of its former self'"--a city so shatteringly divested by the Reformation of its old "outward glory and...material prosperity... that it did not begin to recover from the blow for nearly three hundred years".¹ Of these 'two cities', it is the second that commands present attention and especially during that decade of its tercentennial decadence when it exercised so intimate an influence upon the subject of this work.

Historians, almost as one, have represented post-Reformation St. Andrews as a kind of municipal "Ichabod" that was brought to birth amid the death-pangs of what had once been the "wealthiest of Scottish bishoprics".² Deprived by the Reformation of the valuable patrimony and patronage of the Church of Rome--the main source and sustainer of its medieval

-
1. Pp.7-9. "...the turning point was reached in 1842, when a vigorous and strong-willed Provost [Sir Hugh Ilyn Playfair] commenced a strenuous restoration to decency and order" (J.M. Anderson, Op.Cit., p.10).
 2. Annie I. Dunlop, The Life and Times of James Kennedy, p. 349.

affluence--¹

St. Andrews began to decline at once, and...the decline was rapid. . .All through the seventeenth and following century there are constant allusions to waste lands, empty houses, ruinous and dangerous tenements.²

Significantly, one of these "allusions" was made early in 1655--within three years of Donald Cargill's graduation from St. Mary's and with the Reformation still not quite a century old. It is contained in a petition addressed by "the provost, bailies, and remanent counsell" of St. Andrews to General Monk in order to secure the immediate redress of their municipality from a recently imposed and 'over-burdening' increase in its military tax assessment. In pressing home their appeal they laid heavy accent on the impoverished state of their burgh resources which, perforce, they attributed to

the total decay of [the city's] shipping and sea trade, and...[to] the removal of the most eminent inhabitants thereof to live in the country.³

This picture of poverty in human and material resources is important to this study in two respects; first, for the contrast it reveals between the city as it once had been and the city as it then was, and second, for what it discloses of the

-
1. Vide Ibid.; William Douglass, Some Historical Remarks on the City of St. Andrews in North-Britain, p.9; James Grierson, Delineations of St. Andrews, p.108; Walter Coutts, St. Andrews and Neighbourhood, p.47; and J.M. Anderson, Handbook to the City and University of St. Andrews, pp.7,8.
 2. Ibid., pp.8,9.
 3. Vide James Grierson, Op.Cit., p.38.

socio-economic state of affairs in St. Andrews within so short a period after the close of Cargill's own student sojourn there. At the same time there is evidence that this description of decay was somewhat exaggerated--that the plight depicted was not altogether as grim as was alleged by the petitioners, either in the year specified or in the decade immediately preceding. In 1646 the burgh tax assessment was £3 per £100--comparable to that in 1594, 1575 and in the pre-Reformation years of 1557, 1550 and 1535.¹ In March 1649 it rose to 4.5%²--"the highest at any period of its history"³--though by August of the same year it had dropped to 3.5%.⁴ In 1650 it was further reduced to 3.3% where it remained until 1656.⁵ It was therefore natural

-
1. Vide RCRB, i.48, 451, 2, 518-20, 6 and APS, VI. i.540. Although the Convention records contain no information concerning St. Andrews between 1612 and 1649 (vide RCRB, iii.v), the tax assessments for certain years from 1645 onward may be calculated from data in The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. These assessments provide a valuable index to the comparative prosperity of the Scottish burghs for the assessments were set or altered by the Convention only after "exact tryell of the trade, common good, and flourishing estate of [the] severall burghis, impartiallie" (Ibid., iii. 622).
 2. APS, VI. ii.238.
 3. Not 3.3% as erroneously stated by Walter Coutts (Op.Cit., p.53).
 4. APS, VI. ii.530.
 5. Vide RCRB, iii.356 and APS, VI. ii.837. It rose for the last time in 1659/60--to 3.4% (APS, VI. ii.880), held firm for some five years (RCRB, iii.585) and then began the long decline which continued into the next century.

that the Town Council, under the duress of material loss,¹ and population decline,² and, subject as they were to the normal political pressures of their office, should paint the picture thus ominously, but, judging by the small concession made to them by the "commander in chief of the forces in Scotland",³ the "debilitie" and "low condition" of their burgh

-
1. James Grierson succinctly summarises the underlying causes of the city's material decline: "The city fell gradually into decay after it had ceased to be the seat of the archbishop, and the want of this pre-eminence, combining with the other causes arising from the badness of its harbour, and the inconveniency of its situation for the establishment of commerce or manufacturers, gradually diminished its population, and damped the enterprise of its inhabitants" (Op.Cit., p.37). Vide also William Douglass, Op.Cit., pp.19,20; James Donaldson, Addresses Delivered in the University of St. Andrews, p.353; Walter Coutts, Op.Cit., pp.51-3; and J.M. Anderson, Handbook, pp.10,1.
 2. Estimates of the pre-Reformation population of St. Andrews range from 13,000 to 30,000 (vide James Donaldson, Op.Cit., p.352 and J.M. Anderson, Handbook, p.11) but, aside from the vague reference of the Town Council to "the removal of the most eminent inhabitants...to live in the country" by 1655 (vide supra), there is no recorded figure until 1728 when it was stated by William Douglass as having been "still...above 4000" (Op.Cit., p.9). By 1772 it had fallen to "as low as 2000" (J.M. Anderson, Handbook, p.12) but thereafter began to rise again. If Russell Kirk is reasonably correct in estimating it at about "five thousand...at the beginning of the eighteenth century" (St. Andrews, p.148), it may well have been that or more during the mid-seventeenth century period.
 3. So termed in the Councillors' petition (James Grierson, Op.Cit., pp.37,8). Monk's reply to the Council, dated 9 July 1655, runs as follows: "In regard the warrants issued forth for the months past, I cannot alter the samyne for the time past, onlie there is three pounds abated [i.e., of the seven pounds per month recently added] for Julie and August, but before Julie next the collectors must receive according to their warrants (Ibid., p.39).

was, in his estimation at least, not as serious as alleged. There is no doubt that St. Andrews in 1655 was by no means the City it had been before the Reformation, but there is evidence that by the middle of the 'turbulent' seventeenth century¹ it had managed to regain something of its former economic advantage and that it was in fact at the peak of its post-Reformation status when Cargill was resident there.²

Very little is mentioned in the records of St. Andrews concerning the social conditions that prevailed in the city during the period under review.³ It may be noted, however, that in 1641, some two years before Donald Cargill took up his student residence at the University, Parliament ratified the former city charters and a second time constituted it "ane free burgh royall".⁴ An interesting sidelight on the moral and spiritual character of the city at this time has been left by Robert Baillie. On arriving there in July 1642 prior to the

1. Russell Kirk, Op.Cit., p.143.

2. It is important to observe in this connection that, despite the many allusions to St. Andrews's seventeenth century consenscence, it retained solidly its position of sixth in rank among the Scottish burghs from 1591 to 1683 (vide RCRB, i.365,6 and passim and APS, vols.VI & VIII). In 1483 it was tied for fourth place (vide RCRB, i.543) and from 1535 to 1591 it vacillated between fifth and sixth place (Ibid., i.48-531). In 1683 it dropped to fourteenth place (Ibid., iv.40) and was tied for twenty-seventh place by 1705 (Ibid., p.371). The more "floorishing estate" of the burgh in the mid-seventeenth century may have been due in part (as has been observed) to the burgh's comparative isolation from the general scene of conflict and to the University's "condition of prosperity [at that time] which was never before or afterwards exceeded" (vide supra pp.193,203).

3. Particularly between the years 1617 and 1645 (vide Walter Coutts, Op.Cit., p.51).

4. 17 November (APS, V.523,4).

meeting of Assembly, he relates that he and his colleagues

found there, in the people, much profanitie in ignorance, swearing, drunkennesse, and the faults of the worse burghs, with extraordinarie dearth¹

--a 'finding' that bears a striking similarity to McWard's estimate of the conditions that prevailed in the University only three years before at the time of Rutherford's appointment to St. Mary's.² In 1643--the probable year of Cargill's coming to St. Andrews--the Church's opposition to the practice of witchcraft attained a new peak for in Fifeshire alone it is reported that "in the course of a few months...about forty persons were burnt" on account of it.³ And throughout his years of study there both St. Andrews Presbytery and the Synod of Fife were much occupied with the 'trying' and 'purging' of witches.⁴ During these years, too, the usual close attention

1. LJR.B, ii.45.

2. Vide supra pp.166,7.

3. C.J. Lyon, History of St. Andrews, ii.56 and vide also G. F. Black's A Calendar of Cases of Witchcraft in Scotland (1510-1727), pp.51-3. According to Black, the years from 1640 to 1644 constituted the second of the "three great periods of witchcraft persecutions in Scotland" (Ibid., p.14). He continues: "In the latter part of the reign of Charles I the frenzy appears to have revived after a period of comparative quietude, chiefly through the activities of the General Assembly. Condemnatory acts were passed by that body in 1640, 1643, 1644, 1645 and 1649, and with every successive act cases and convictions increased" (Ibid.). F. Legge estimates that about one thousand witches were executed in Scotland between 1640 and 1650, or about one hundred per annum (vide "Witchcraft in Scotland", The Scottish Review, Vol.18 (October 1891), p.274)--an estimate which Black regards as being probably too low (Op.Cit., p.18). For references to the practice in St. Andrews in 1644 and 1645, vide Ibid., p.55.

4. Vide SMP, pp.3-33 and SMS, pp.137-70.

of the Presbytery was directed toward the numerous moral--and even political--obliquities of their parishioners--those such as Baillie deplored and, in addition, infractions such as the profanation of the Sabbath, non-attendance at church and promiscuous dancing.¹

In many respects, therefore, the local scene in St. Andrews was as lively and eventful as the University scene itself, and one which provided Cargill with a practical insight into the typical pre-occupations and challenge of the parish ministry in Scotland. Though no official link had ever existed between the St. Andrews Town and Gown, and though their relationship had not infrequently been marred by colliding aims and interests,² the influence of each weighed heavily upon the other, affecting its fare and fortune for good and ill alike.

2. National Influences

On the national scene several events were bound to have exerted an influence upon Cargill--events which arose from the continuing eminence of Scotland's old "ecclesiastical capital".

It is interesting to observe with J.B. Salmond that in the year when Cargill was "received into the second class" at St. Salvator's³ the very destiny of the nation itself was being

1. Ibid. and vide also D.R. Kerr, Op.Cit., pp.61-5.

2. Vide Annie I. Dunlop, Op.Cit., pp.271,2,8; Walter Coutts, Op.Cit., pp.48,9; J.M. Anderson, Handbook, pp.67,8; and James Donaldson, Op.Cit., p.500.

3. Veterum Laudes, p.169.

decided by two of the College's former alumni--Argyle and Montrose, but of greater importance to this study are the two subsequent occasions during his university career when St. Andrews figured prominently in the national limelight--politically, by the meeting of Parliament there in 1645/6, and ecclesiastically, by the meeting of Assembly there in the critical year 1651. D. R. Kerr, in his special study of the period, remarks that "the most important event in the history of St Andrews during the years 1645-46"¹ was the meeting of Parliament there from 26 November to 3 February following,² and, further, that "the matter which excited most interest during the many weeks of its "prolonged sitting"³ was the trial of the prisoners taken at Philiphaugh' which culminated in the execution at the Market Cross of Robert Spottiswood, Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthrie and William Murray.⁴ "Party rage" and the "spirit of revenge"⁵ were running high throughout the country and in St. Andrews in particular--the "party rage" of the local citizenry having been fomented chiefly by the heavy loss of life suffered at Tippermuir and Kilsyth,⁶ and their "spirit of revenge" having been fired by their overwhelming victory over

1. Op.Cit., pp.87,8.

2. Due apparently to the fact that the plague was "still raging in Edinburgh and other parts" (Ibid.).

3. Ibid., p.88.

4. Ibid., pp.105-18.

5. Ibid., p.119.

6. On 1 September 1644 and 13 August 1645 respectively (vide P. Hume Brown, History of Scotland to the Present Time, ii.261,2 and D.R. Kerr, Op.Cit., p.71). Concerning the loss sustained at Tippermuir, Robert Baillie remarks: "A great many honest burgesses were killed, twenty-five householders in St. Andrews only; many were bursten in the flight, and dyed without stroak" (LJRB, ii.262). D.R. Kerr states that "So great in-

the Royalists at Philiphaugh¹ where "In a day the power of Montrose south of the Tay was shattered".² This triumph of the Presbyterian Forces followed by the "publicke thanksgiveing to God" in St. Andrews Presbytery³ aroused in the Church a spirited "religious militaryism"⁴ that was at its height when Parliament convened. If indeed "The times were [then]...more peaceful than Scotland had known for many months"⁵ it was nevertheless the case that the first interest of all concerned was the fate of the prisoners of war. The proceedings were held "in the Lower Hall of the University Library"⁶ under the Chancellorship of the Earl of Loudon⁷ with Argyle and Johnston of Warriston as two of the leading members of the assembly.⁸ As "the most important event in the history of St Andrews during the years 1645-46",⁹ it would have left a lasting impression upon

deed had been the slaughter [at Tippermuir and Kilsyth] among the companies from St Andrews and the district, that we find the Parliament, in February 1646, granting to the presbyteries of St Andrews, Cupar, and Kirkcaldy exemption from further levies on account of the number from those presbyteries who had been killed" (Op.Cit., pp.71,2). Even the meeting of St. Andrews Presbytery on 11 August 1645 was "interrupted...by the great troubles of the country" (SMP, p.32).

1. On 13 September, 1645 (Ibid., p.31).

2. Ibid., p.32.

3. Vide SMP, 17 September 1645 (p.32).

4. D.R. Kerr, Op.Cit., pp.119,20.

5. Ibid., p.89.

6. Vide Russell Kirk, Op.Cit., p.132. Now called "Parliament Hall", it "could seat some four hundred persons" (Ibid., p.121) and had been completed only two years before "out of the generosity of Henderson's benefaction" (Ibid., p.132 and vide supra p.193).

7. APS, VI. i.474.

8. Vide D.R. Kerr, Op.Cit., pp.88-101.

9. Mention should be made, however, of the meeting at St. Andrews of the Commissions of Scotland and England from 14 to 18 October 1645 (prior to the meeting of Parliament) which also brought the national scene forcefully to bear upon the burgh (Ibid., pp.82-6).

Donald Cargill who was then in his "bachelor" year at the University, and all the more so in his later years in view of the fact that with the close of this Parliament the national importance of the city in a political sense came to an end¹-- save perhaps for a brief recrudescence in 1650 when "the silver keys of the city were delivered up to King Charles the Second-- the last British monarch who ever visited St. Andrews".² Of particular significance to this study, however, is the summary remark of D.R. Kerr concerning the national importance of the city in 1645/6: "in the history of the city itself the period [in point] will always be memorable as the last in which St Andrews was the centre of the nation's life and affairs".³

Ecclesiastically the national importance of St. Andrews was temporarily revived six years later with the meeting of the General Assembly there. It was that Assembly that saw the birth of the Protesting Party when Rutherford and twenty-one of his colleagues tabled the famous "Protestation".⁴ It was probably the birth of this Party that settled once and for all the ecclesiastical position of Donald Cargill, but his enlistment to its ranks will merit attention in the following chapter.

In view of the multifarious influences that confronted Donald Cargill during his academic sojourn at St. Andrews, it is obvious that both Town and Gown played a much larger role in his life than can be envisaged from Robert Hamilton's terse statement

1. Vide Ibid., pp.127,8 and Walter Coutts, Op.Cit., pp.51,2.
 2. J.M. Anderson, Handbook to the City and University of St. Andrews, p.14 and vide supra p.171.
 3. Op.Cit., p.127.
 4. Vide supra p.171.

that after having 'perfected his philosophy course' he 'betook himself to the study of divinity' and was in due course 'called to the Barony parish!.

Having now viewed these influences, combined with those of home and grammar school, it is pertinent to consider their culminating effect upon him in the final stages of his preparation for the ministry.

CHAPTER VII

CULMINATION AND SETTLEMENT

The influence of St. Andrews on Donald Cargill has been considered in its widest application in the chapters preceding with principal emphasis on the place of Samuel Rutherford as the most determinative influence in shaping his theological outlook and ecclesiastical attachment. From evidence previously shown it is clear that Rutherford commanded a decided advantage over his Divinity colleagues in the settlement of Cargill's thought and churchmanship, first of all because of Cargill's predisposition from youth in favour of covenant principles through the influence primarily of his parents and parish minister,¹ and second, through what appears to have been his extended acquaintance with Rutherford from Grammar School in Aberdeen to Divinity School in St. Andrews. In the latter especially a close contact would have been established in classroom, 'evening prayers' and College Kirk where Rutherford was to him professor, preacher,² Principal, Rector, ecclesiastic

-
1. I.e., Mr. Thomas Lundie, an older cousin of Donald, who was minister of the Rattray parish kirk from 1637 until his deposition in 1664. He joined the Protesting Party in 1651 (vide supra p.36).
 2. The pulpit influence of Rutherford on Cargill must not be underestimated. "Such who knew him best", says Robert Wodrow, "were in a strait whether to admire him most for his sublime genius in the school, and peculiar exactness in matter of dispute and controversy, or his familiar condescensions in the pulpit, where he was one of the most moving and affectionate preachers in his time, or perhaps in any age of the church" (History of the Sufferings, i.205), and Marcus Loane aptly remarks that "the death of Henderson in 1646 and of Gillespie in 1648 had left him the most eminent minister north of the Tweed" (Makers of Religious Freedom in the Seventeenth Century, p.81).

and Protester. Taylor Innes's classic characterisation of Rutherford's life as a "window" through which Christ was seen by men,¹ could be more generally applied both to him and to all the masters and regents of the University, for through them Cargill looked out and saw already looming the incipient forms of what he later described as Scotland's "Civil and intestine broils with great outbreakings".²

While nothing is recorded of Donald Cargill's ecclesiastical position in the years between the completion of his divinity course and his ordination, there is evidence that his sympathies at that time lay with the Protesters and that he was experiencing the same "ecclesiastical isolation" at St. Andrews as was Rutherford himself.³ In the Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ of 1868 it is stated that on 13 April 1653 Donald Cargill "was licen. by the Presb. of St Andrews"⁴ but in the Register of the Presbytery of St. Andrewes the entry,

April 13, 1653. The doctrine Joh 15 v. 13,14, delyvered by Mr Patrick Scougill censured and approven, followes Mr Andrew Honyman to make and Mr Donald Cargill to adde,

gives no indication of licensing on that date, nor is it recorded elsewhere in the Register.⁵ The only other references

1. Samuel Rutherford, p.171.

2. Vide Sermons Delivered in Times of Persecution ed. James Kerr, p.514.

3. Concerning Rutherford's position, Robert Gilmour writes: "In the Presbytery of St. Andrews Rutherford stood alone, and there were only 'six like minded' in the Synod of Fife" (Samuel Rutherford, p.200; vide also Thomas Murray, The Life of Samuel Rutherford, p. 274ff and LJB, iii.299).

4. II. i.39.

5. Cargill may indeed have been undergoing part of his trials

to him that it contains are as follows:

21 Feb 1655. A testimoniall being desired for Mr Donald Cargill's exercising hier and preaching in these bounds and his conversation qll he remained hier referred delayed to ye next day [and]

21 March 1655. Mr Donald Cargill's testimoniall delayed.

The fact that there is here no indication of his having been licensed by the Presbytery and that his application to preach within the bounds of the Presbytery was twice deferred¹ supports the suggestion that he was already associated with, or at least

for licensing on this date since the General Assembly of 1638 had enacted concerning "the tryall of Expectants" that, "it being notour...that they have exercised often privatly, and publickly, with approbation of the Presbyterie, they shall first adde and make the exercise publicly" (vide Alexander Peterkin, Records of the Kirk of Scotland, i.37 and also G.D. Henderson, The Burning Bush, p.56), but, by reason of a more recent act of Assembly (1652), he could not have passed his trials without also pledging himself "to passe from the Protestations and Declinatours against this and the preceding General Assembly, if he hath been accessory to the same, and to promise and give assurance, that he shall abstain from holding up Debates and Controversies, about matters of Differences in this Kirk, since the Assembly 1650, in Preaching, Writing, or other wayes (vide A. Peterkin, Op.Cit., p.650). It is to be noted, however, that the same act prescribed that presbyteries exercise a measure of leniency toward "such men as at first refuses or scruples to perform these conditions mentioned,...that pains be taken upon them to convince them of the reasonable-nesse thereof, and to perswade them to embrace them, and to give them a competent time for that effect" (Ibid). For cases similar to that of Cargill, vide DPD, i.372,3 (re Mr. John Cruikshank) and SMP, pp.69,70 & n (re Mr. Robert McWard).

1. Even more inexplicable than Hew Scott's inference concerning the licensing of Donald Cargill on 13 April 1653 is his subsequent assertion that Cargill "got a testimonial [to exercise and preach] 21st Feb. 1655" from St. Andrews Presbytery. Aside from the fact that the minute for that date states plainly that action on the request was "delayed to ye next day", there is the entry one month later (obviously overlooked by Scott) which indicates that action was a second time delayed--this time indefinitely. There is, in fact, no

sympathetic toward the Protesting Party and therefore persona non grata with the members of the Presbytery. This is further borne out by his ordination to the Barony parish later in the same year¹---evidently by the Glasgow Protesters who were then in control of both Synod and Presbytery² and despite the opposition of

two ministers of the Public Resolution party--viz., Mr George Young and Mr Hugh Blair--[who] had [during the parish's 'long vacancy']...opposed the settlement of such godly men as had been called by the people, and had practised secretly with the Council of Glasgow not to suffer any to be settled there that might be against the Public Resolutions.³

From this evidence it seems probable that he was also licensed

indication in the Register that his request was at all granted. If, however, he was still unlicensed by reason of 'protesting' affinities, the unwillingness of the Presbytery to permit him 'to exercise and preach within these bounds' may be explained by the continuing force of an act of the Assembly of 1646 which "discharges any person to preach in publike under the name and notion of an Expectant, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except such as shall be tryed and found qualified according to the Acts of the Generall Assembly" (A. Peterkin, Op.Cit., p.448).

1. The statement in A Cloud of Witnesses that "he became minister of the Barony parish in 1654" (p.2) appears to be inaccurate in view of Cargill's request early in 1655 to 'exercise and preach' within the bounds of St. Andrews Presbytery and, also, in the light of Robert Hamilton's statement that "the [Barony] parish had been "long vacant" prior to Cargill's acceptance of their call (A Cloud of Witnesses, p.502)--Zachary Boyd, his predecessor, having died between 11 March and 21 April 1653 (FES, iii.392).
2. As early as March or April 1651 Robert Baillie lamented, in writing to Robert Douglas, that "Mr Patrick [Gillespie], by the multitude of his yeomen elders, could carie what he pleased [in Glasgow Presbytery] (LJB, iii.142). Vide also FES, iii.462 where it is stated that Gillespie, among other things, "induced the Presbytery, as well as the Synod of Glasgow, to adhere to them [i.e. the Protesters]".
3. Robert Hamilton (A Cloud of Witnesses, p.502). With respect

by the Protesters of Glasgow--or possibly by the 'separated' Protester Presbytery of Dunkeld though this cannot be substantiated as no minutes of their meetings are known to exist.¹

to the Resolutioner affinities of Young and Blair, vide FES, iii. 474,7. Robert Baillie records, for example, that they, in company with Zachary Boyd, himself and five others, opposed--though vainly--the giving of any support as a Presbytery to James Guthrie on his summons by the King "to repair to Perth, 19th Feb. 1651, to answer for preaching against the Public Resolutions agreed to by Church and State" (FES, iv. 318 and LJB, iii.141,2). For an illustration of the opposition of the Glasgow Town Council to the Protesters, vide their "protest against the admissioun" of Andrew Gray to the Blackfriars parish in October 1653 (Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow (1630-1662) ed., J.D. Marwick, p.280)--in spite of which, however, he was ordained to the Collegiate Charge five days later (FES, iii.465).

The explanation of Robert Hamilton's cryptic statement, that "in reference to Mr Cargill's call, they [Young and Blair] were by God's good providence much bound up from their wonted opposition" (A Cloud of Witnesses, pp.502,3), may lie in the sudden re-inforcement of the Glasgow Protesters' already strong position by the Ordinance "grantit" by Cromwell on 8 August 1654 to Patrick Gillespie "and sum of his bretherene" (John Nicol, A Diary of Public Transactions ed. David Laing, p.163) empowering them "to 'purge' the church of ministers whom they thought 'scandalous,' and to withhold the stipend from any one appointed to a parish who had not a testimonial from four men of their party" (DNB, vii.1241). At best, however, this Ordinance was of only temporary advantage to them due to the storm of opposition it aroused throughout Scotland. It was, in consequence, suspended in October 1655 (Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of Edinburgh ed. William Stephen, ii.ix & n).

It is worthy of note, in this connection, that it was at the home of James Durham--whom Robert Baillie classifies with Robert Blair as a 'mid-man' in the Resolutioner-Protester conflict (vide LJB, iii.296 and FES, iii.456)--that Cargill was "commoved" by "a certain godly woman" to accept the Barony call (A Cloud of Witnesses, p.503).

1. Vide FES, iv.140.

It is both of interest, and in order at this point, to speculate on his further activities during those unrecorded years between the completion of his divinity studies and his ordination at the Barony. Was he, previous to and following the death of the Laird of Blebo (3 June 1653),¹ tutor of the Blebo children?² It may still have been the practice for Expectants to teach as regents in the University for a period prior to their ordination,³ but there is no evidence that Cargill served in this capacity--possibly because of his Protesting affinities. Instead he may have served in the household of Bethune of Blebo, which may in turn have prepared the way for his subsequent marriage on 10 April 1656⁴ to the widow, Margaret Brown--a marriage which lasted only four short months due to her premature death on 12 August of that same year.⁵

-oOo-oOo-oOo-oOo-oOo-

-
1. DJL, p.55.
 2. The names of six children are listed in a deed dated 19 April 1656 as: Andrew, John, David, Margaret, Mary and Elizabeth (vide Blebo Writs, II.4.43). The names of two additional children, who may have died in infancy, are recorded in the Edinburgh Register of Baptisms: Agnes (4 April 1645) and Catharine (17 October 1647).
 3. Vide Votiva Tabella, p.118.
 4. Vide Blebo Writs, I.3.52.
 5. Ibid. and vide also D. Hay Fleming "The Inventory of Margaret Brown, Wife of Donald Cargill, the Martyr", Records of the Scottish Church History Society (1935, Vol.V, pp.81-3) ed W.J. Couper, George Mackenzie and T.M.A. Macnab.

The purpose of this thesis is now fulfilled. The background influences which Donald Cargill encountered to the time of his ordination and marriage--family, school, university and general--have been examined in some detail and evaluated as to their probable effect upon him in the moulding of his life and churchmanship and in setting their seal upon his life and character.

APPENDICES

A. CARGILL ORIGINS

The surname 'Cargill' is a Scottish name derived from the lands, now the parish, of Cargill in Perthshire.¹ It is composed of two Celtic words meaning 'white fort' or 'white rock'.² In the vicinity of these lands, "near the confluence of the Tay and Isla", are the vestiges of a Roman Camp and fort to which the origin of the name is doubtless to be traced.³

William Anderson, in his Genealogy and Surnames, states that the baronies or feudal estates were first established by William the Conqueror in the eleventh century and that, as a consequence, new surnames gradually appeared, many of them derived from these lands and districts "or from the feudal relations springing out of the new state of things introduced by the Conquest". For this reason, he continues, "every person [now] bearing the name of a barony is descended from its original possessor, or from someone connected with it...or from persons anciently settled or born within its boundaries".⁴ Hence the origin of the surname "Cargill".

'Cargill', having been originally a place-name, receives first mention in a charter granted in 1164 by Malcolm IV to the Abbot and Convent of Scone, confirming lands and privileges previously granted by Alexander I and David I. Among those bestowed by the latter (1124-53) occurs "et licentiam capiendi claustrum in nemore illo quod est inter Scon et Kergil".⁵ Between 1189 and 1196 these lands were granted by William the Lion as a barony to Richard de Mountfichet and his successors.⁶ In 1220 his son, William de Montifexo (sic), granted a charter to the monks of Cupar "of common pasturage in my town of Kergille".⁷ The possession of these lands by this family, however, terminated about 1345 when Mary, eldest daughter and heiress of William of Montifexo, married Sir John Drummond.⁸

-
1. Vide William Anderson's Genealogy and Surnames, p.106 and his The Scottish Nation, iii.588.
 2. Vide Surnames of the United Kingdom by Henry Harrison, i.69 and CBI, p.326.
 3. Vide Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland, ed. Francis H. Groome, i.236.
 4. Pp.8,99. Vide also Scotland from earliest times to 1603 by W. Croft Dickinson, p.83ff, where this "territorial" relationship between the land, its lord and tenant is discussed in connection with the reign of David I.
 5. RGS, i, Appendix I ("Reliquiae Rotulorum Deperditorum"), no.27.
 6. Vide a modern transcript of a 16th century transumpt (made by Gavin Dunbar, Lord Clerk-Register, 1501-32) of an original Drummond Charter (Register House).
 7. RBCA, i.342.
 8. Vide The Scots Peerage, ed. Sir James Balfour Paul, vii.34-6 and RBCA, i.279.

By this marriage Sir John obtained these lands and they have ever since remained in possession of the Drummond Line though Stobhall has remained the principal family seat.¹

'Cargill', as a surname, may well appear first in the records in the person of a Peter of Kergill who witnessed a charter when Galfrid (i.e., Geoffrey) was Bishop of Dunkeld (1236-1249).² He may have been the first proprietor, or feuar, of the lands of Cargill (as distinguished from the barony then possessed by the Montefichets), and thus the first to assume their name as his surname. Several years later, in October 1260, a Walter of Kergyl appeared as one of many witnesses to a land transaction at a court of justice in Perth.³

In 1283, according to George F. Black, "Bernard de Kergyle received a gift of the lands of Leisington from William de Munificheth".⁴ From this time forward, however, the surname 'Cargill' no longer appears in connection with the lands of Cargill so it is not impossible that William received them at the above date, not so much as a gift but rather, in exchange for the lands of Leisington (later, Lasington)⁵ which lay in the northeast part of the barony of Cargill. These lands continued⁶ in the possession of the Cargill line⁷ down to the end

-
1. Vide Sir James Balfour Paul, Op.Cit., p.61.
 2. Vide IES, no.94.
 3. Vide ICSA, p.346 (cited in The Surnames of Scotland by George F. Black, p.134.
 4. Ibid., where he cites as reference The Oliphants in Scotland ed. Joseph Anderson, p.3.
 5. Vide infra where a similar exchange of land took place between Lord Drummond and Walter Cargill in 1499.
 6. With the possible exception of a period of time in the mid-fourteenth century when they may have been granted to "Philip Meldrum, of the lands of Lasingistoun in the barony of Kargill, in vicecomitatu de Perth" (RGS, i, Appendix II ("Indices Antiqui"), no.1104). This vague index heading (the original charters have disappeared), on the other hand, may indicate merely confirmation of an adjudication against the estate or of a wadset of them. Furthermore, the indices from which this excerpt is taken "are full of obvious and multifarious blunders" (Ibid., i.ix) so that its meaning as it stands may on this account be subject to question.
 7. The records refer to the following Cargills of Lasington: (1) "Willelmi de Kergyle" who secured the additional lands of Breynbayn and Balharry in Perthshire in 1370 and 1372 respectively (Ibid., i., nos.319,404,524 and Appendix II ("Indices Antiqui"), no.1657); (2) "Wilhelmo de Cargyl domino de Lasigiston" (MNSC, iv.117,8) who witnessed a

of the fifteenth century when, on 28 February 1499, John, Earl of Drummond, granted to Walter Cargill of Lasingstoun, his heirs and assignees, the lands of the barony of Kinloch (Easter and Wester), with the mill of Kinloch and with annual revenue of the kirklands of Lundeif in exchange for his (Walter's) lands of Lasingstoun (sic), Lasingscheillis and Eastir Quhitfeild.¹ From this date until his death in 1513,² consequently, Walter Cargill is always styled as being "of Kinloch".

On 28 October 1513 John Cargill, his son and heir, received sasine of the lands of Westirkynloch and Estirkynloch (sic) and on 1 February following of the third part of the lands of Balharrie.³ Four years later, however, he sold the latter property⁴ and, by 1541, the principal lands of his Kinloch property had passed into the possession of Adam Lindsay of Dowhill,⁵ in whose line it remained until 1712.⁶

While recorded proof has not been found, it seems indeed probable that Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray, was descended from the Cargills of Lasington and Kinloch--the principal Cargill family of early times--and, that having been born about 1550 (perhaps in Blairgowrie), the Vicar could have been a son

charter in 1447; (3) "William of Kergyle, Laird of Laysyntown" (RBCA, ii.291), probably identical with the William immediately preceding; (4) "Robert Cargill" who received sasine of the lands of Stobhall, the principal seat of the Drummonds, 28 August 1484--probably an infeftment or wadset (RI, p.200). He died 15 September 1594 (AIC, ii.157).

1. Vide RGS, ii., no.2508 and RI, p.200. The lands of Lasington and Kinloch lay in the parish of Cargill. The records indicate that Walter, prior to this, had engaged in a variety of property transactions and disputes. In 1494 he received sasine of Bacharre (sic) (ERS, x.769). In May 1498 he was exonerated from legal action taken against him by his mother, Gelis Arbuthnot, and brother, Colin (AIC, ii.157,8). This record also mentions his inheritance of the lands of "Cranleis, Lasingstone and Myllnland of the sammyn, Galbridstone and the thrid part of Balherrie". Later in the same year he was charged by Lord John Drummond with the feudal offence of "purpruysione" (Ibid., pp.201,2, 49) but, after receiving temporary "respitt" (RPS, i., no. 233), the dispute seems finally to have been settled by Walter's payment of the 300 merks penalty (AIC, ii.pp.304,5). In 1507 he acquired additional lands (RGS, ii., no.3151).
2. He died shortly before 27 October 1513 at which time his son, John, is recorded as his heir (RI, p.200).
3. ERS, xiv.519,35.
4. RPS, i., no.2865.
5. RI, pp.200,1 and RGS, iii, no.2406.
6. RI, p.203.

of John, the last Cargill of Kinloch, and Isobel Ramsay, his wife.¹

The close proximity of Rattray and Blairgowrie to Kinloch, the social position held by the Vicar and, later, by numerous members of his family together with their close association with the Lindsays of Kinloch,² and the fact that the Vicar's eldest son was named John--these considerations lend a certain measure of credibility to the possibility of this suggested ancestral link.

1. Vide e.g., RGS, iii, no.97.
2. E.g., BC, no.179.

B. THE CARGILL-HALTOUN CONNECTION

The first instance of an erroneous connection between the name "Donald Cargill" and the estate of Haltoun occurs in The Genealogy of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond.¹ On p.116 the author states that "George Drummond, second son to the last [previous] George, married Grissel Cargill, daughter to Daniel Cargill of Haltoun, and had with her sones Daniel and Patrick Drummonds". The reference is to Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray, whose son, John was the first Cargill of Haltoun. Perhaps it was on this authority that Robert Douglas, a century or more later, records in his The Baronage of Scotland² that Patrick Blair, brother-in-law of the Vicar,³ by his first wife Isabel Ramsay, had three daughters whose names are not given but one of whom married "_____ Cargill of Haltoun of Rattray".⁴ The first Cargill of Haltoun, John, married Jean Gray⁵ who survived him;⁶ the second was his son, Donald, whose wife, Isobel Drummond, was still alive in 1665 when he sold Haltoun;⁷ the third was the eldest son of Laurence Cargill of Bonytoun of Rattray--Donald, the Covenanter.⁸ "There can be hardly any room for doubt that the daughter of Patrick Blair referred to was Laurence Cargill's wife, Marjory Blair, and that the Ardblair family historian, who could not help being aware of Mr. Donald Cargill's ownership of Rattray owing to the prolonged litigation over that property in the eighteenth century between the Ardblairs and Mr. Donald Cargill's heirs,⁹ had mistakenly supposed that he had inherited that property from his father, who was doubtless the Cargill he referred to. This is also borne out by the frequent association of Laurence Cargill with the Ardblair family in the public records."¹⁰

Despite the documentary value of these accounts (William Drummond's, compiled in 1681 though not published until 1831, and Robert Douglas' published in 1798) linking the family of the Covenanter with the Haltoun estate, they either remained

-
1. Compiled in 1681 by the Honourable William Drummond; edited and first published by David Laing, 1831.
 2. Published 1798; p.191.
 3. Vide supra p.9, n.2.
 4. It is to be noted that this spelling, "Haltoun", is peculiar to both accounts which enhances the probability that Douglas was dependent on Drummond for his information.
 5. Vide supra, p.13, n.5.
 6. In William Gloag's Rentall of the County of Perth for 1650 is the following entry: "Jean Gray, for Easter Drymie and half of Hattone of Ratteray...0110 00 00".
 7. Vide supra, p.14.
 8. Vide Ibid., and also SSC, ii.200.
 9. Vide supra, p.47, n.2.
 10. FCJC, 213.52

unknown to historians, or failed to receive credence on their part, up until the year 1845. No specific details concerning the Covenanter's parentage or Haltoun connections are given by Robert Hamilton, Robert Wodrow, Patrick Walker, John Howie or G.M. Bell.¹ While, similarly, there is no mention of him or his family in Sir John Sinclair's The Statistical Account of Scotland,² it is, significantly, The New Statistical Account of Scotland³ which appears first to have taken cognisance of the conclusions presented by William Drummond and Robert Douglas. It records (x.241) that the Covenanter's "father was proprietor of an estate called Hatton". The consequence was that for some forty years thereafter, this affirmation, for want of adequate evidence to the contrary, was accepted as authoritative and thus incorporated into the more important historical works on the subject. In a Hand-Book to Blairgowrie, Rattray, and Neighbourhood (p.88), reference is made to "the Hatton, owned two hundred and fifty years ago by the respected father of the honoured Donald Cargill, Scottish Martyr", and, further on (p.125), the author avers that "in the Hatton of Rattray... an avenue of trees still mark the site of his birthplace, beside a little 'Burn' which flows from the 'Braid Moss'". William Marshall, in his Historic Scenes in Perthshire (p.214), states that the Covenanter "was born about the year 1610, his father being laird of the property of Hatton". Again, in The Life of Donald Cargill, Jean L. Watson declares (p.12) that the Martyr's father was "laird of the property of Hutton [sic]". Even the original edition of FES⁴ lists Donald Cargill, minister of the Barony Church, Glasgow, as "eldest son of C. of Hatton, in the par. of Rattray", though this was subsequently corrected in the 1920 edition.⁵

Charles Rogers⁶ seems to have been the first to question the accuracy of the previously accepted Cargill-Haltoun connection, but unfortunately he erred in his attempt to rectify the error.⁷ Not until the year 1901 was this problematic relationship finally resolved through the diligent research of D.Hay Fleming.⁸ In spite of this, however, two

1. Opera Cit. in Chapter I.

2. Published in 1792; iv.148-50.

3. Published 1845.

4. Published 1868; ii.x.39

5. iii.392.

6. Social Life in Scotland, from Early to Recent Times, published 1884; i.146,7.

7. Vide SSC, ii.199.

8. Ibid., ii.199-203.

of Cargill's most distinguished biographers were not immediately influenced by this disclosure. W.H. Carslaw, in the second edition of his Life and Times of Donald Cargill (published in 1902),¹ omits all reference to the Cargill connection with Haltoun, while J.M. Dryerre,² after stating "the fact that there were four Donald Cargills living in the same district, at the same period, has caused some difficulty in finding when the martyr was born", then proceeds inexplicably to conclude that "The preponderance of evidence...seems to establish as fact that he was born at the 'Ha'town of Rattray about 1619". With the exception of Carslaw and Dryerre, however, subsequent historians have seen fit to adopt the research conclusions of Mr. Fleming.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the three most important memorials to the Covenanter which are currently to be seen in Rattray make mention only of his Haltoun connection. A cairn erected in 1958 on the site of the old Haltoun estate refers to him as "born here c. 1610". A bronze plaque on the west wall of the parish church and a badly disfigured stone burial tablet in the churchyard to the south of the church bear reference to him solely as "Donald Cargill of Haltoun". Local tradition unquestionably links the martyr more strongly with Haltoun than with either Nether Cloquat or Bonytoun where he was born and reared. This may be due chiefly to the fact that he did possess the estate of Haltoun of Rattray from 1665 until his execution in 1681 at which time it was forfeited to the crown.

1. Vide Three Heroes of the Covenant, pp.10-7.
 2. Heroes and Heroines of the Scottish Covenanters, published 1907; p. 56

C. DONALD CARGILL'S NAME

The statement of Patrick Walker that Donald Cargill's "baptized name was Daniel"¹ is against the weight of evidence. Both he and his cousin of the same name² (being eldest sons in their respective families) would have been named after their grandfather, Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray,³ and, as has been previously indicated,⁴ his cousin's name appears as 'Donald' in the Rattray Parish Register, the Vicar having been one of the witnesses.

There is only one document in which the Covenanter is referred to (apparently) as 'Daniel' and it is in the testament of his wife, Margaret Brown, given up by the relatives of her first husband as trustees for the children of her first marriage.⁵ And even here, while his name thus occurs toward the beginning of the document, it appears as 'Mr. Donald Cargill' twice further down.

In the St. Andrews University Matriculation Register for 1645 his name is listed as 'Donaldus Cargill' and, the same year, he signed his name to the St. Andrews' copy of the Solemn League and Covenant as 'Donald Cargill'.

During his long stipend dispute with the Town Council of Glasgow, his name, wherever it appears, is always given as 'Donald Cargill', although in a contract between them dated 20 September 1658, he signed his name as 'Mr. D. Cargill'⁶ (his customary signature).

George Black, in his Surnames of Scotland (p.215), states that "Donald is sometimes erroneously rendered in

-
1. SSC, ii.3: "He was commonly called Donald, but his baptized name was Daniel".
 2. Vide supra p.14.
 3. Once, however, William Drummond records the Vicar's name as 'Daniel', vide infra.
 4. Vide SSC, ii.199.
 5. Vide Commissariat Records, Glasgow Register of Testaments, 28 March 1657. Even in this instance it should be observed that there is some question as to whether 'David' or 'Daniel' was originally intended, for the latter appears to have been superimposed on 'David' as a correction. 'David', as well as 'Daniel', was, on occasion, substituted as the equivalent of 'Donald', in the records of this period (vide supra p.4 where the Vicar of Rattray is referred to as 'David Cargill'; also DPD, ii.265 where the following entry occurs: "Catherin Ogilvie, relict of Mr David (Donald?) Blair, minister at Kinloch". Vide FES, iv.167).
 6. Vide Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow (1630-1662), [ed. J.D. Marwick].

English by Daniel", but he also remarks that "by the Gaels this name was adopted as an equivalent for Donald" (p.200). Dr. F. Cargill holds that "in the 17th and early 18th century, Daniel seems to have been a kind of polite affectation for Donald, which was regarded as too rustic by the well-bred".¹ To cite an example of this interchange, Grissel, the second daughter of Donald Cargill, Vicar of Rattray, married George Drummond and their eldest son was named and baptised 'Donald'.² But in William Drummond's The Genealogy of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond (p.116) where this marriage is recorded, Donald Cargill, Vicar, is referred to as 'Daniel Cargill' and his grandson as 'Daniel Drummond'.

The late D. Hay Fleming, in a note³ on Patrick Walker's reference to Donald Cargill's baptised name being 'Daniel', remarks: "In the neighbourhood of Rattray, at least, old people seem to regard Daniel as the equivalent of Donald; but Professor Mackinnon assures me that the two names 'have no relation with each other apart from some similarity of sound; 'although some of his countrymen 'doff the latter and don the former'".

-
1. PC, F. Cargill to author, 15 December 1951.
 2. Vide supra p.46, n.5.
 3. SSC, ii.203.

D. EXTANT CARGILL FAMILY BIBLES

I. DONALD CARGILL BIBLES

(A) THE ST. ANDREWS BIBLE

The description of the Cargill Bible on display in the University Library, St. Andrews, begins thus:

This Bible carried by Donald Cargill the Covenanter to the scaffold in July 1681. Presented to the Library July 1930 by Dr. Featherston Cargill, C.M.G.

This Bible first received considerable prominence¹ when it was obtained for use at a conventicle held on the Hatton Hill, Rattray, on Sabbath, 28 June 1896--one of eighteen such services held in connection with an International Convention of Reformed Presbyterian Churches.² It was borrowed for the occasion by the Rev. Dr. James Kerr, general chairman of the Convention,³ from Miss Edith Walker of Bournemouth, a direct descendant of Anne Cargill, sister of the martyr. The following day articles appeared in both the Blairgowrie Advertiser and Dundee Advertiser with full accounts of the services, brief summaries of Cargill's life and detailed descriptions of the Bible--the substance of the latter of which will be copiously quoted below.⁴

-
1. It had previously received a measure of public notice in 1866 when the Rev. Adam Ross, then minister of the Rattray Free Church, presented a series of lectures on Donald Cargill in order to raise funds for the erection of a memorial to him on the Hatton Hill (vide Blairgowrie Advertiser between 1 December 1866 and 4 May 1867). The Bible on this occasion was borrowed for display from Mr. David Walker of Strathmiglo, the uncle of Miss Edith Walker (vide Dundee Advertiser, 29 June 1896 and PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945). By reason, however, of objections later raised by the proprietor of the Parkhill Estate, the objective was never realised.
 2. Vide First International Convention of Reformed Presbyterian Churches, pp.36,7,50-3 and vide also J.M. Dryerre's Heroes and Heroines of the Scottish Covenanters, pp.56,68-70 where mention of this service is made and where also a reproduction of the Bible is given.
 3. Ibid. and vide Dundee Advertiser, 29 June 1896 and Blairgowrie Advertiser, 4 July 1896. Dr. Kerr was then minister of the Nicholson Street Reformed Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.
 4. According to D. Hay Fleming in his ms. Notes on Donald Cargill (p.47), these articles were contributed by Mr. Henry Dryerre, bookseller and tobacconist in Rattray.

"The Bible, which is an octavo printed at Cambridge in 1657 by John Field, is not in its original binding. It has been recovered with a 1693 edition of the Scottish Metrical Psalms."¹ The present binding is eight inches long, five and five-eighths inches wide and two inches thick. According to the Dundee Advertiser it is bound in "dark, smooth calf, tooled in gilt on back, but blind tooled on sides. The corners have silver protectors, and there are two massive silver clasps, on one of which are the initials 'A.C.' (Anne Cargill, Donald Cargill's sister) and on the other 'K.L.' (Katherine Lyon, granddaughter of above)."² The title page has an engraved design representing an arrangement of pillars with an arch in the middle, within which is the title" which runs as follows:

The Holy Bible Containing the Old Testament and the New
Newly Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with
the former Translations diligently Compared and revised--
 Cambridge Printed by John Field Printer to y^e Vniver-
 sitie. 1657.

"Beneath this is an oval design enclosing the figure of a female crowned with three towers, and holding a sun in one hand and a cup in the other, together with the words round the sides--'Pocula sacra hinc Lucem et,' and beneath, in four short lines--'Alma Mater Cantu Brigia'. In the right hand bottom corner is the name of the engraver, 'Rob. Vaughan, sculp.'"³

The New Testament title page, on the other hand, is plainly printed without engraving. It runs:

The New Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ,
Newly translated out of the originall Greek, and with the
former Translations diligently compared and revised.

"Then follows the same design[--though in somewhat larger and cruder form--]as on the front title page, except that the cup and sun in the hands of the figure are reversed and the Latin legend reads, 'Hinc Lucem et pocula sacra'."⁴ At the bottom

1. FCJC, 213.221 and vide infra.

2. "These facts suggest that Anne Cargill's son, James Pater-son, had had the Bible rebound [and that he presented it] as a gift to his wife, Katherine Lyon" (PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945). Vide supra p.62, n.1.

3. Dundee Advertiser, 29 June 1896.

4. Ibid.

of the page is "Cambridge Printed by JOHN FIELD, Printer to the University, 1657". "It is to be noticed that although both books were printed by the same man in the same year, the word 'University' is spelled in the two ways indicated."¹

On the inside of the front cover of the Bible was originally pasted the following inscription:²

The late Rev. Donald Cargill, Minister of the Gospel, Barony Church Glasgow, who was executed at Edinburgh as a Martyr in the year 1681 bore this Bible to the scaffold as his last best friend and handed it therefrom as his last sad legacy, to be carried to his oldest Sister Anne Cargill with these memorable words--"I am as sure of my salvation being complete in Jesus-Christ as I am of the truth of all that is contained in this holy this inestimable book of God!"--

Anne Cargil [sic], wife of James Paterson, Dundee, had issue Ja^s Paterson, who married Catherine Lyon, issue Agness Paterson, who married Robert Bailie M.D. Dundee, issue, the present possessor of this bible, Barbara Bail[ie] [who marr]ied James Campbell.

A second inscription, written probably by Barbara Campbell,³ daughter of Barbara Bailie, was pasted over the original but is now located on the page opposite. It runs as follows:

-
1. Ibid. Note also the two spellings of "Original".
 2. Presumably written by Barbara Bailie, great granddaughter of Anne Cargill. Born in 1751, she married James Campbell, merchant in Dundee, in 1775 and survived him at his death in 1813 (FCJC, 213.219). With respect to the two errors contained in this inscription, vide supra pp.61,2.
 3. Barbara Campbell was born sometime after 1790 and in 1817 married Thomas Walker, bleacher, of the parish of Strathmiglo (FCJC, 213.220).

THE REV.^d DONALD CARGILL

Minister of the Gospel, Barony Church, Glasgow, who was executed at Edinburgh as a Martyr 27th July in the year 1681, bore this BIBLE to the SCAFFOLD as his last best friend, and handed it therefrom as his last sad Legacy to be carried and delivered to his oldest sister Anne Cargill with these memorable words, "I am as sure of my Salvation in Jesus Christ as I am of the truth of all that is contained in this Holy, this inestimable Book of God!"-----

Anne Cargill wife of James Paterson, Dundee, had Issue James Paterson who married Cathrine [sic] Lyon, Issue Agness Paterson who married Robert Bailie, physician Dundee, Issue Barbara Bailie who married James Campbell, merch^t Dundee, Issue Barbara Campbell, ~~the-present-possessor-of this-Bible~~, who married Thomas Walker, Bleacher Strathmiglo,¹ Issue David Walker ~~the-present possessor-of-this-Bible~~ and James Campbell Walker, Issue Edith E. Walker.

Bought from Edith Walker (of) Bournemouth,² per Rev. Dr Kerr of Glasgow 19th Aug. 1901 by John Wilson 83 Jamaica Street, Glasgow.³

This second inscription is in the same hand-writing through to the word "Strathmiglo" and afterward in that of the subsequent possessors.

According to Henry Dryerre,⁴ there was, in 1896, a printed slip inserted between the front cover of the Bible and the title⁵ page with the following quotation from A Cloud of Witnesses:

Donald Cargill, martyr, on the scaffold, July 27, 1681, gave this testimony:- "I bless the Lord that these thirty years and more I have been at peace with God, and was never shaken loose of it. And now I am as sure of my interest in Christ and peace with God as all within this

-
1. The possessor in 1866 when the Bible was borrowed by the Rev. Adam Ross (vide supra).
 2. "Miss Edith Walker lived at Eastbourne, not Bournemouth" (PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945).
 3. Dr. Featherston Cargill remarks: "The Bible was not sold during her [Miss Walker's] lifetime, but shortly after her death by her executors. Through the offices of the Rev. Doctor Kerr, I bought the Bible about 1922 from Mr. John Wilson's widow and a few years afterward presented it to St. Andrews University, where Donald Cargill had been a student" (Ibid.).
 4. Dundee Advertiser, 29 June 1896.
 5. Vide J.H. Thomson edition, p.10. The slip is no longer contained in the Bible.

Bible and the spirit of God can make me; and I am no more terrified at death nor afraid of hell because of sin than if I never had sin--for all my sins are freely pardoned and washed thoroughly away through the precious blood and intercession of Jesus Christ."

"Up the inner margin of the title page are written--'Ps.118,16 ver.'. Turning to this passage in the metrical version at the end there is a line drawn down the margin at the place, including 16 lines, which words are said to have been sung by the martyr on the scaffold. The type is a very clear and distinct one, set in two columns with marginal reference, and one of the first things that strikes one on opening the volume is the red lines which separate the columns, run down each side of the references, cross the front of the page, and also the top, above and below the headline. A close examination of some of the pages revealed the extraordinary fact that throughout the entire volume of close upon 1000 pages (there is no paging to guide one), every red line has been ruled in separately by hand. Slight variations in the widths, slips of the pen, a drop of red ink here and there, faint transfers of lines from one page to the opposite one, showing the leaf had been turned before the page was dry; and a certain heaviness at the beginning of many of the lines--these, as well as other points, leave no room for doubt upon the subject whatever. The book has been rebound--many years ago; the back only, apparently, being the original. Certain heavy brown marks on some of the pages are ascribed to rain or some other accidental cause connected with its first owner's chequered career. If that be the case, then, three facts in the history of the book can be placed in chronological order--the red ruling, the accidental soiling, and the rebinding. For the red lines are more or less obliterated and faint where the water or other liquid has come in contact with them,¹ and the red lines across the tops of the pages have been cut away by the

-
1. The fact that the red lines were also ruled on the 1693 metrical version of the Psalms would preclude their having either been drawn or marred during the martyr's own "chequered career". This could have occurred only between 1693 and the time of the rebinding of the volume. Accompanying the "Photograph of Spine of Cargill's Bible" at St. Andrews is this description: "Back of the 'Donald Cargill' Bible with cover off, showing the grooves of the six bands of the first binding. These grooves do not extend across the back of the Metrical Psalms on the left. This proves that the Bible is now in its second binding, and the Metrical Psalms in the first. . . .The Psalms, though undated, are apparently identical with the 1693 edition printed by George Mosman at Edinburgh."

binder in a considerable number of instances."¹

With respect to the genuineness of this Bible as having originally belonged to Donald Cargill, Dr. Featherston Cargill remarks: "I regard [it] as undoubtedly authentic".²

(B) THE NEW ZEALAND BIBLE

The late Dr. Featherston Cargill (Cargill Family genealogist and grandson of the Captain Cargill who led in 1857 the Free Church settlers in founding the Colony of Otago) refers in a MS. letter³ to the "Bible of Donald Cargill" which was given by the daughters of his uncle, Edward Bowes Cargill of Dunedin, to the Otago Early Settlers' Association in April 1904.⁴

Edward Bowes Cargill, in his history of his family, speaks of it as being "a beautifully printed book,⁵ copiously illustrated, in what had been a handsome binding". And Dr. Cargill remarks that "inside it is a letter showing it was given to Capt. William Cargill of Otago in 1827 at Edinburgh. The letter runs: 'My Dear Sir: I have sent by the Bearer Mr. Donald Cargill's Bible which you will please forward to his descendants in Edin^r. Unquestionably they ought to have it in possession. I am, my Dear Sir, yours very sincerely, John Lockhart, Moore-Place 21st June 1827.'" There is also inside the Bible a letter, of about the same date, written to Capt. Cargill by Dr. Lee, an Edinburgh Professor, and a great authority on old Bibles, to whom Capt. Cargill evidently had sent the Bible for examination in which he expresses the opinion⁶ that the Bible was an Amsterdam or London Bible of about 1678

-
1. Dundee Advertiser, 29th June 1896. Vide in this connection the article by G.H. Bushnell entitled "The Mystery of a Martyr's Bible" in his From Papyrus to Print, pp.107-9.
 2. PC, F. Cargill to author 12 December 1951.
 3. PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945.
 4. PC, Secretary of the Otago Early Settlers' Association to author, 14 May 1962.
 5. PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945.
 6. The Secretary of the Otago Early Settlers' Association cites Dr. Lee's letter to this effect: "The letter from Dr. Lee runs '...in London or in Holland about the year 1670 or 1680...the Psalms appear to be rather older...'." (PC, The Secretary to author, 14 May 1962).

and, therefore, could have belonged to Donald Cargill. It should be mentioned that the title-page of the Bible is missing, hence the difficulty of dating it. It will be noticed that Mr. Lockart does not mention how the Bible came into his possession. In the Bible itself is scrawled in a bad hand writing: 'This Bible belonged to Donald Cargill', and that is all."¹

The present Secretary of the Otago Early Settlers' Association adds that "the Bible is bound, full calf (when??) with tooled design front and back, the end paper which can be seen at the back is marbled the front one probably was but has been pasted over". Its "dimensions are 4 10/16" x 6 13/16" x 2 1/4".²

(C) THE "WEST OF SCOTLAND" BIBLE

Although no tangible evidence has yet come to light, the existence of a third "Donald Cargill Bible" is sufficiently well-attested to merit mention in this context.

In his "The Mystery of a Martyr's Bible",³ the late Mr. G.H. Bushnell records the substance of an interview he had about 1930 with the late Dr. Featherston Cargill in connection with his gifting of the "Donald Cargill Bible" to the University Library, St. Andrews. After devoting some attention to the story of this Bible's acquisition and authentication, Mr. Bushnell proceeds to unfold the story of another Bible which is said by tradition to have been the martyr's. He writes:

[Dr. Cargill] told me in the course of his researches he had discovered that, in the possession of a family in the west of Scotland, was a Bible (it is still there, I believe), which tradition says was Donald Cargill's Bible. Moreover, this one has a further interesting story attached to it. One day when Cargill was out praying in the fields, with his Bible open in his hands, a shot was fired at him. The bullet struck the Bible. Just as it did so the Covenanter closed the book, the bullet remaining imbedded in the centre. This Bible is still traditionally known as "Donald Cargill's Bible", and the bullet marks are still shown.⁴

Although no recorded evidence of this reported discovery appears to have been left by Dr. Cargill, its credibility cannot be lightly regarded in view of his known integrity and

1. PC, F. Cargill to J.P. Cargill (Copy), 14 September 1945.

2. PC, the Secretary to author, 14 May 1962.

3. Op.Cit.

4. Ibid., pp.108,9.

reputation as a researcher.¹

II. CARGILL FAMILY BIBLES

(A) THE WALKER BIBLE

A large Bible,² printed in Amsterdam in 1640, contains evidence of having come into the possession of Patrick Cargill, the Cannongate cutler,³ in 1709. This Bible is currently owned by a descendant of Patrick, Captain D.G. Walker of Sanquhar. Its binding (apparently the original) is dark, smooth calf and has metal corner protectors, but the leather straps with metal fasteners, which once secured it, are now missing. The title-page is almost wholly intact and indicates that it was printed by Thomas Stafford "According to the Copy printed in Edinburgh by Andro Hart, in the yeare 1610". A separate title-page for the New Testament bears a similar imprint but indicates in addition that the translation was "by Theod. Beza".

The Bible contains two important family records. The first, evidently written by Patrick himself, is to be found on the blank page facing the New Testament title-page. It states that "Patrick Cargill aught thies book 1709", gives his date of birth (25 December 1687), the date of his "Mareg" to "Isabel Fyfe" (1704), lists the names of the children born to this union, records the date of his marriage to Jean Cargill, the martyr's niece⁴ (12 April 1723) and the names of the first four children born to him and Jean. The second inscription appears on a blank page at the end of the Book of Job. Apparently written by Andrew Cargill, the fourth son of Patrick's first marriage, it re-records in a more orderly and legible form the information previously given, lists the names of the three additional children born to Patrick and Jean, gives the date of his (Andrew's) own marriage to "Anna Black" (29 August 1737) and the names of the children born to them. It is through Sarah Cargill⁵ (the

-
1. His manuscript notes and correspondence alike evidence the exhaustiveness and sedulousness of his research--characteristics to which Mr. Bushnell himself draws particular attention in the article cited above. For a brief account of his (Dr. Cargill's) career, vide The Fettes College Register (1870-1953), p.19 and Who Was Who (1951-1960), q.v.
 2. Fifteen inches long, nine inches wide and three and one-quarter inches thick.
 3. Vide supra p.54.
 4. Vide supra p.53.
 5. Born 26 March 1730.

second daughter born to Patrick and Jean) that Captain Walker is descended from the cutler.

The last few pages of the Bible are missing--from Rev. 17:15 to the end.

(B) THE GRAHAM BIBLE

A second Cargill Family Bible is presently in the possession of another descendant of Patrick Cargill--Dr. Charles Graham of Edinburgh. This Volume, small in size¹ in comparison with the Walker Bible, is also bound in dark, smooth calf though the present is plainly not the original binding.² The front cover, title-page and the opening chapters of the Book of Genesis are missing as is also the greater part of the Metrical Version of the Psalms at the close.³ A separate New Testament title-page, however, shows it to be an Authorised Version of the Bible printed at Cambridge in 1648. On a blank page opposite is an inscription which, in part, runs: "David Cargill had a son born upon the 25 day of December and baptised upon the 27 of December called Patrick 1687".

Dr. Graham is a descendant of Patrick Cargill (by his first wife, Isabel Fyfe) through his son Andrew who married Anna Black in 1737 (vide supra, Walker Bible). "Youfama" (Euphama), Andrew's second daughter born 29 June 1742, married a "Mr Robert Lowthen [Lothian] Minister of the Gospell" in 1767 and it was the husband of their second daughter Ann--Robert Anderson, whom she married in 1794--who was the great grandfather of Dr. Graham.

This Bible, according to Dr. Graham, was in the possession of the Anderson family at least as early as the year 1850.

E. BURGESS ROLL ENTRY CONCERNING PATRICK BLAIR OF ABERDEEN⁴

The record of admission runs as follows:

Eodem Die Patricius Blair receptus et admissus fuit in liberum burgensem et fratrem gilde burgi de Aberdene pro

-
1. Five and one-quarter inches long, three inches wide and two inches thick.
 2. Evidenced by the close trimming of the pages at the time of rebinding.
 3. The text commences at Genesis 16:2 and ends at Psalm 13:4.
 4. Vide supra pp.72,3.

compositione summe ducentarum et decem mercarum virtutis Scotie quia peremptitius fuit consortium domus virtutis hujus burghi pro cuius compositionis solutione residentia taxationibus qz per eum solvendis prout in dicto burgo taxari contigerit Joannes Scott mercator burgen dicti burghi devenit fideijussor et ipse obligavit se ad revelandum suum fideijussorem solutis preposito quinque solidis in alba bursa ut moris est et prestito pereundem juramento solito.

The precise civic status of Patrick is here obscured by two manifest scribal errors embodied in the words "peremptitius" and "consortium". Three attempted explanations of the intended construction and meaning have been received.

Prof. R.D. Ireland, University of Aberdeen, suggests that

the clause beginning with quia seems to be giving a reason for what immediately precedes, viz. the fixing of the composition at the figure of 210 merks.¹ The fees payable by entrant burgesses at Aberdeen (and I think elsewhere) varied according² to the status of the entrant, who might be³ an extranean, an apprentice or son-in-law of a burghess, a son of a burghess, or an infant. If peremptitius... hujus burghi could mean "an apprentice of the partners of a mercantile house of this burgh" it would provide an intelligible and appropriate meaning. I think that this could be squeezed out of consortium...burghi, although I am no expert in this kind of Latin, but peremptitius beats me completely. It can hardly be derived from primere; it might have some connexion with emere (emptitius means bought).⁴

-
1. Vide MNSC, i.xx,xxi.
 2. An outsider; formerly a resident of another burgh (vide The Scottish National Dictionary ed. M.A. Mathieson and M.M. Stewart, vol.iii, part 1. "Personal residence and possession of a tenement within the burgh was...essential" to one's receipt of its burghess rights (MNSC, i.xviii and APS, I.680, 703).
 3. "In 1452 it was proposed that only sons and sons-in-law of burgesses should be admitted to the Guild, and in 1540 it was enacted that no burgesses be admitted for seven years under the sum of £20 unless sons and those marrying the daughters of burgesses" (MNSC, i.xviii). It is possible that the "John Leang" who is listed as a burghess of Aberdeen and Tiar-juror in 1603 (Ibid., ii.60) was the former owner of Patrick Blair's house and his father-in-law as well.
 4. PC, Prof. R.D. Ireland to Miss E.W. Binning (Copy), 23 April 1963.

Miss Helen Armet, Keeper of the Burgh Records (Edinburgh), observes that

there is no entry like it in the Edinburgh Burgess Roll [but]...from the amount of the entry money paid by Patrick Blair it would appear that he entered as an "Extranean".¹

Finally, Mrs. Louise B. Turner² comments thuswise on the twofold error:

The mediaeval Latinists can do nothing with it, and the classical ones assert quite positively that there are no such words as 'peremptitius' nor 'consortum', though they admit consortum could be a debased form or a scribal error for 'consortium'. It would be possible to use 'virtutis' as an adjective; otherwise 'domus' must be a nominative, but surely there was no 'house of virtue' as the opposite of a house of ill fame. On the other hand ~~is the~~ Correction House anywhere referred to by this name? It was intended as a place where virtue (i.e. good habits of industry) was to be taught. Were any Blairs benefactors to, governors of, mortifiers to the House of Correction established about 1639 or earlier, I think?

The following translation is suggested by Mrs. Turner:

This day Patrick Blair was received and admitted free burgess and guild brother of the burgh of Aberdeen for the composition of 210 merks Scots because he was--peremptitius--of the fellowship of a noble house of this burgh. For the payment of whose composition residence and taxation to be payed proportionately in this burgh John Scot merchant burgess of this burgh became cautioner of payment by five shillings in a white purse⁴ to the provost and by openly taking the usual oath.⁵

-
1. PC, Miss Helen Armet to Miss E.W. Binning (Copy), 11 June 1963.
 2. Or, Taylor (editor of the Aberdeen Council Letters).
 3. The Aberdeen "correction hous" was erected in 1637 (vide ECRA-B, i.100,1,6-12) but appears to have come to a premature end in 1644 after being plundered by Montrose and his "Irish officiars" (Ibid., ii.38,9 and vide also William Robbie's Aberdeen Its Traditions and History, p. 171). The printed records give no indication of any Blairs having been connected with it in any capacity.
 4. Vide MNSC, i.xxxiii.
 5. For a statement of the oath, vide Ibid., i.xix.

Mrs. Turner continues:

This translation assumes 'consortum'--'consortium'--fellowship or society [and assumes also] taking domus virtutis as a double genitive rather than [as] a nomina-tive and a genitive (i.e. noun and adjective, not two nouns) which gives a general sense that he is made bur-gess because of a relationship with some worthy burgess.¹

The explanations here proposed make it likely that the name-grandson of Patrick Blair of Ardblair was admitted a Guild Burgess of Aberdeen in 1644 not only as an "extranean" but as the son-in-law of a "worthy burgess" of the burgh (a practice that had been recognised for some two centuries or more) and makes it distinctly possible, moreover, that the "noble house" to which he thereby belonged was indeed the "great hous of old belonging to John Iaing". It is possible that it was this same Patrick Blair who served as a Fiar-juror of Aberdeen in 1670.²

1. PC, Mrs. Louise B. Turner to Miss Rust, Archivist, Town Clerk's office, Aberdeen (Copy), 3 & 9 July 1963.

2. MNSC, ii.46.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

I. PUBLISHED WORKS.

Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes. 1496-1501. AIC
Edinburgh: 1918.

The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland. APS
Vol 5 - 9. 1870 ff.

Allardyce, James ed.
The Family of Burnett of Leys.
Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1901.

Anderson, James Maitland
Handbook to the City and University of St Andrews.
St Andrews: University Press, 1911.

Supplement to the University of St Andrews.
Cupar: 1883.

Anderson, James Maitland ed.
Early Records of the University of Saint Andrews.
1413-1579. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1926.

The Matriculation Roll of the University of St Andrews.
1747-1897. Edinburgh: 1905.

Anderson, Joseph ed.
The Oliphants in Scotland. Edinburgh: 1879.

Anderson, P.J. ed.
Aberdeen Friars. Aberdeen, 1909.

Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis, 1593-1860.
Aberdeen: New Spalding Club 1889. FAMA

Officers and Graduates of University & King's College
Aberdeen, 1495-1860.
Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1893.

Anderson, William
Genealogy and Surnames. Edinburgh: 1865.

The Scottish Nation. Edinburgh: 1860-62.

Balfour, James
The Annales of Scotland, 1557-1652. Edinburgh: 1824.

"Baptism in the Church of Scotland", Reports to the General Assembly with the Legislative Acts, 1958, pp. 685-763, & 1959, pp. 629-652.

Barclay, John ed.
Diary of Alexander Jaffray. Aberdeen: 1856.

Bell, Gavin Mason
The Scottish Martyr (Second Series), or The Life of the Rev Donald Cargill. Glasgow: 1837.

- Black, George F.
A Calendar of Cases of Witchcraft in Scotland, 1510-1727. New York, 1938.
- The Surnames of Scotland. New York: 1946.
- Blairgowrie Advertiser. 1866, 1867, 1896.
- Bonar, Andrew A. ed.
Letters of Samuel Rutherford. London: 1894. LSR
- [Botfield, Beriah ed.]
Original Letters Relating to the Ecclesiastical Affairs of Scotland, Written by, or Addressed to His Majesty King James the Sixth, 1603-1625.
Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1851.
- Bourchenin, Pierre Daniel
Étude sur les Académies Protestantes en France au XVIe et au XVIIe Siècle, Paris: 1882.
- Boutroux, Émile
"Descartes and Cartesianism", The Cambridge Modern History, Vol 4, ed. A.W. Ward, G.W. Prothero & Stanley Leathes. Cambridge: University Press, 1906.
- Brown, W. Adams
"Covenant Theology," Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol 4. ed James Hastings. Edinburgh 1911.
- Brown, P. Hume
History of Scotland to the Present Time, Cambridge: University Press 1911.
- Burnett, John George ed.
Powis Papers, 1507-1894. Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1951.
- Bushnell, George Herbert
"The Mystery of a Martyr's Bible", From Papyrus to Print, London: 1947.
- Calendar of the Laing Charters. John Anderson ed. Edinburgh 1899. CIC
- Cameron, James Kerr
"James Cargill (c. 1565-1616)", The Aberdeen University Review, 38 (1959), No 121.
- Cameron, James Kerr ed.
Letters of John Johnston (c. 1565-1611) and Robert Howie (c. 1565-1645), St Andrews University Publications, LIV. Edinburgh: 1963.
- Campbell, William McMaster
The Triumph of Presbyterianism. Edinburgh: 1958.

Cant, Ronald G.

The College of St Salvator. London: 1950.

The University of St Andrews. Edinburgh: 1946.

Carslaw, W.H.

Life and Times of Donald Cargill (Heroes of the Covenant), Paisley: 1900.

Three Heroes of the Covenant. Paisley: 1902.

Charles II.

A Declaration by the King's Majesty, to His Subjects of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland. Edinburgh: 1650.

A Cloud of Witnesses. ed. Rev. John H. Thomson.

Edinburgh: 1871.

A Collection of Confessions of Faith... &c. of publick Authority in the Church of Scotland, Vol 2.

Edinburgh: 1722.

Colville, Alexander

"Theses Theologicae de Natura Christi Divina et Humana", Thesaurus Disputationum Theologicarum in Alma Sedanensi Academia Vol 2. ed. Iacobus de Vaux. Genevae: 1661.

Cooper, James ed.

Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicholai. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1892.

Coutts, Walter

St Andrews and Neighbourhood. St Andrews: [1904].

Cunningham, John

The Church History of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1882.

Dickinson, William Croft

A New History of Scotland, Vol 1. (Scotland from earliest times to 1603). Edinburgh: 1961.

Dickinson, William Croft

Donaldson, Gordon

A Source Book of Scottish History. Edinburgh 1961.

SBSH

Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee. London: 1909

DNB

Dodds, James

The Fifty Years' Struggle of the Scottish Covenanters. Edinburgh: 1860.

Donaldson, Sir James

Addresses Delivered in the University of St Andrews, 1886-1910. Edinburgh: 1911.

- Douglas, Robert.
The Baronage of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1798 DB
- Douglass, William
Some Historical Remarks on the City of St Andrews in North-Britain. London: 1728.
- Dowden, John.
The Bishops of Scotland (ed. J. Maitland Thomson)
Glasgow: 1912.
- Drummond William
The Genealogy of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond. (compiled 1681 - ed. David Laing)
Edinburgh: 1831.
- Dryerre, J. Meldrum
Dryerre's Guide to Blairgowrie, Rattray and district.
Blairgowrie: 1901.

Heroes and Heroines of the Scottish Covenanters.
London: [1897]
- Dundee Advertiser. 1896.
- Dunlop, Annie I.
The Life and Times of James Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews. Edinburgh: 1950. (St. Andrews University Publications No. XLVI)
- Durham, James
A Commentarie Upon the Book of the Revelation.
Glasgow: 1680.
- Easson, D.E. ed.
Charters of the Abbey of Coupar Angus. Edinburgh: 1947.
Scottish History Society. CACA
- Encyclopaedia Britannica. 1911. 1962.
- Evidence Oral and Documentary (University of St Andrews) EOD
Vol. 3 London: 1837.
- Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. Vols. 10 & 14 ERS
Edinburgh: 1887 and 1893.
- Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae. ed. Henry Cotton. Dublin: 1849.
- Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae. ed. Hew Scott. Edinburgh: 1866 FES
and 1915. Supplement and Corrigenda, 1950.
- Ferguson, James ed.
The Scots Brigade in Holland. Edinburgh: 1899.
Scottish History Society.

Fettes College Register. 1870-1953. Edinburgh: 1954.

Firth, C.H.

Scotland and the Protectorate. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1899.

Fleming, D. Hay

"The Inventory of Margaret Brown, Wife of Donald Cargill, the Martyr", Records of the Scottish Church History Society (Vol. V, pp.81-3) ed. W.J. Couper, George Mackenzie & T.M.A. Macnab. Glasgow: The Scottish Church History Society, 1935.

Four Old Documents Concerning the Town Church of St Andrews. St. Andrews Citizen, 1903.

The Story of the Scottish Covenants in Outline. Edinburgh: 1904.

Some Subscribed Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant. Edinburgh: 1918.

Fleming, D. Hay ed.

Six Saints of the Covenant. London:1901.

SSC

Forbes, John

A Treatise Tending to Cleare the Doctrine of Iustification. Middelbvrgh: 1616.

Fraser, G.M.

Aberdeen Street Names. Aberdeen: 1911.

The Lone Shielling with Other Literary and Historical Sketches. Aberdeen: 1908.

Fraser, G.M. ed.

The Miscellany of the Third Spalding Club. Aberdeen: 1935.

Gilmour, Robert

Samuel Rutherford. Edinburgh: 1904.

Gloag, William ed.

Rentall of the County of Perth. Perth: 1835.

Gordon, James

History of Scots Affairs, 1637-1641. Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1841.

Gordon, Patrick

A Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper, 1639-1649. Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1844.

Gordon, James

Abredoniae Vtrivsque Descriptio. [Cosmo Innes ed.] Edinburgh: Spalding Club, 1842.

- Gordon, William
The History of the Ancient, Noble, and Illustrious
 Family of Gordon. Edinburgh: 1727.
- Grant, Sir Alexander
The Story of the University of Edinburgh. London: 1884.
- Grant, James
History of the Burgh and Parish Schools of
 Scotland. Vol. 1. Glasgow: 1876.
- Grierson, James
Delineations of St Andrews. Cupar: 1838.
- Groome, Francis H.
Ordinance Gazatteer of Scotland. London: [1894].
- Grub, George
An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1861.
- Guthry, Henry (Bishop)
The Memoirs of Henry Guthry. Glasgow: 1748.
- H.N.F.
The "Old Grey City" by the Sea. St. Andrews: [1936]
- * Hamilton, Alexander
Life of James Sharp, Archbishop of St Andrews
(Miscellanea Scotica, Vol. 2) Glasgow: 1818.
- Hampden, Renn Dickson
The Scholastic Philosophy Considered in Its Relation
 to Christian Theology. (Bampton Lecture) Oxford: 1833.
- Harrison, Henry
Surnames of the United Kingdom. London: 1912.
- Hastie, William
The Theology of the Reformed Church. Edinburgh: 1904.
- Henderson, George David
The Burning Bush. Edinburgh: 1957.
- Herald, Ross
Lyon, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne. Edinburgh: 1911.
- Herkless, John
Richard Cameron (Famous Scots Series), Edinburgh: 1896.
- * "To him [Alex^r Hamilton of St. Andrews] has been
 ascribed the authorship of a rather unappreciative
Life of James Sharp, reprinted in the Miscellanea
 Scotica" (Some Subscribed Copies of the Solemn League
 and Covenant, p.12).

Herkless, John }
 Hannay, Robert Kerr } eds.
The College of St. Leonard. Edinburgh: 1905.

Hewison, James King
The Covenanters. Glasgow: 1913.

Howie, John
Biographia Scoticana: or a Brief Historical Account
of the Lives, Characters, and Memorable Transactions
of the most eminent Scots Worthies. Glasgow: 1775.
The Scots Worthies (ed. W.H. Carslaw), Edinburgh: 1870.
The Scots Worthies (ed. Andrew A. Bonar). Glasgow: 1879.

Hunter, John
The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 1660-1689. DPD
 Edinburgh: 1917.

Innes, A. Taylor
Samuel Rutherford (The Evangelical Succession, Second
Series) Edinburgh: 1883.

[Innes, Cosmo ed]
Fasti Aberdonenses, 1494-1854. Aberdeen: 1854.
 Spalding Club.

An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of
Scots Law. Edinburgh: Stair Society, 1936.

[Ireland, W.P.]
A hand-book to Blairgowrie, Rattray and Neighbourhood.
 Blairgowrie: 1865.

Johnstone, James Fowler Kellas }
 Robertson, Alexander Webster } eds.
Bibliographia Aberdonensis. Aberdeen: Third Spalding
 Club, 1929.

Kennedy, William
Annals of Aberdeen, Vol. 1. London: 1818.

Kerr, David Robert
St Andrews in 1645-46. Edinburgh: 1895.

(Kerr, James ed.)
First International Convention of Reformed Presbyterian
Churches. Glasgow: 1896.

Kerr, James
Sermons Delivered in Times of Persecution in Scotland, by
Sufferers for the Royal Prerogatives of Jesus Christ.
 (Originally published by John Howie) Edinburgh: 1880.

King, Robert

The Covenanters in the North. Aberdeen: 1846.

Kinloch, G.R. ed.

Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of
St Andrews and Cupar, 1641-1698. Edinburgh:
Abbotsford Club 1837.

SMP

[Kinloch, George Ritchie ed.]

Selections from the Minutes of the Synod of Fife,
1611-1687. Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1837.

SMS

Kirk, Russell

St Andrews. London: 1954.

Laing, David ed.

A Catalogue of the Graduates...of the University
of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club. 1858.

The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, 1637-1662 LJB
Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1841, 1842.

Wodrow Society Miscellany, Vol 1.
Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1844.

Lamont, John

The Diary of Mr John Lamont of Newton, 1649-1671. DJL
(G.R. Kinloch ed.) Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1830.

Lang, Andrew

St Andrews. St. Andrews: 1951. (G.H. Bushnell ed.)

Lauder, Sir John

Historical Observes of Memorable Occurrents in Church
and State, 1680-1686. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1840.

Leask, Wm.Keith ed.

Musa Latina Aberdonensis, Vol 3. Aberdeen: New
Spalding Club, 1910.

Legge, F.

"Witchcraft in Scotland", The Scottish Review, Vol 18
(Oct. 1891)

Liber Cartarum Prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia. ICSA

Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1841.

Liber Ecclesie de Scon. Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1843 LES

Liber Sancte Marie de Melros, Vol 2. Edinburgh: Bannatyne
Club, 1837.

Lindsay, William Alexander }
 Dowden, John }
 Thomson, John Maitland } ed.
Charters Bulls and Other Documents Relating to
the Abbey of Inchaffry. Edinburgh: Scottish
 History Society, 1908.

CBDI

Lippe, Robert ed.
Selections from Wodrow's Biographical Collections.
 Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1890.

Littlejohn, David ed.
Records of the Sheriff Court of Aberdeenshire,
 Vol 2. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1906.

Livingston, John
Lives of a considerable Number of the most eminent
Divines and Private Christians who lived in
Scotland, during the first Century after the
Reformation. Glasgow: 1754.

Loane, Marcus L.
Makers of Religious Freedom in the Seventeenth
Century. London; 1960.

Lumsden, John
The Covenants of Scotland. Paisley: 1914.

Lyon, Charles Jobson
History of St Andrews, Episcopal, Monastic,
Academic, and Civil. Edinburgh: 1843.

M'Crie, Thomas ed.
The Life of Mr Robert Blair.
 Edinburgh; Wodrow Society, 1848.

IRB

M'Crie, Thomas
Life of Andrew Melville. Edinburgh: 1824

M'Crie, Thomas
Miscellaneous Writings. (ed. by son, Thomas M'Crie)
 Edinburgh: 1841.

Macfarlane, Walter
Genealogical Collections, 1750-1751.
 Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1900.

Mackie, R.L.
A Short History of Scotland. (Gordon Donaldson ed.)
 Edinburgh: 1962.

Macmillan, Donald
The Aberdeen Doctors. London: 1909.

M'Pherson, J.G.

Strathmore: Past and Present. Perth: 1885.

[McWard, Robert]

Joshua Redivivus. [Rotterdam]: 1664.

Marshall, William

Historic Scenes in Perthshire. Edinburgh: 1879.

[Marwick, J.D. ed.]

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow (1630-1662). Glasgow: The Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1881.

Marwick, J.D. ed.

Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland, Vols. 1-3. Edinburgh: 1866, 1870 & 1878. RCRB

Hunter, Thomas ed.

Extracts from the Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland. Vol 4. Edinburgh: 1880.

Maxwell, Bishop John

Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas: Or; The Sacred and Royall Prerogative of Christian Kings. Oxford: 1644.

Meikle, James

The History of the Alyth Parish Church. Edinburgh: 1933.

Melville, James

The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill, 1556-1610. (ed Robert Pitcairn) Edinburgh: The Wodrow Society, 1842.

Michie, John Grant ed.

The Records of Invercauld, 1547-1828. Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1901. RI

Miller, A.H. ed.

The Book of Record. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1890.

Miller, Perry

The New England Mind--The Seventeenth Century. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954.

Morison, Samuel Eliot

The Founding of Harvard College. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.

[Morison, William]

Memorabilia of the City of Perth. Edinburgh: 1806.

Mortifications under the Charge of the Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Aberdeen. (Aberdeen Town Council) Aberdeen: 1849.

Munro, Alexander M.
Memorials of the Aldermen, Provosts, and Lord
Provosts of Aberdeen, 1272-1895. Aberdeen: 1897. MPA

Munro, Alexander M. }
 Anderson, P.A. } eds
The Miscellany of the New Spalding Club, Vol 1. MNSC
 Aberdeen: 1890.

Munro, A.M. }
 Littlejohn, David }
 Smith, A.E. } eds.
The Miscellany of the New Spalding Club, Vol 2. MNSC
 Aberdeen: 1908.

[Munro, A.M.]
Notes on the Members of Parliament for the Burgh
of Aberdeen, 1357-1886. [N.p.] reprinted from the
 Aberdeen Journal, 1889.

Murray, John C.
The Law of Scotland relating to Notaries Public.
 Edinburgh: 1890.

Murray, Thomas
The Life of Samuel Rutherford. Edinburgh: 1828.

The New Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol 10.
 Edinburgh: 1845.

Nicol, Anderson
The Story of the West Church of St. Nicholas.
 Ramsgate: [n.d.]

Nicoll, John
A Diary of Public Transactions. (David Laing ed)
 Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1836.

Paul, George Morison ed.
Diary of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston,
1632-1639. Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1911.

Paul, Sir James Balfour ed.
The Scots Peerage. Edinburgh: 1910.

Peterkin, Alexander ed.
The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland.
 Edinburgh: 1839.

Peterkin, Alexander ed.

Records of the Kirk of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1838.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Fourth Series, Vol 7. Edinburgh: 1909.

Rait, Thomas S.

The Parliaments of Scotland. Glasgow: 1924.

Ramsay, Sir James H. ed.

Banff Charters, 1232-1703.

London: Oxford University Press, 1915.

BC

Rashdall, Hastings

"The Medieval Universities", The Cambridge Medieval History, (Vol 6. pp. 559-601), Ed. J.R. Tanner,
O.W. Previté-Orton & Z.N. Brooke. Cambridge: 1929.

Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. Vols 1 - 3 and 8.

Edinburgh: 1882 ff.

RGS

Register of Ministers, Exhorters and Readers, and of their Stipends, after the Period of the Reformation.

(Macdonald, Alexander ed.) Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1830.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland. Vols 1 - 3.

Ed. P. Hume Brown. Edinburgh 1906ff.

Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland. Vol 1. Ed. M.

Livingstone. Edinburgh: 1908.

RPS

Reid, Henry Martin Beckwith

A Cameronian Apostle. Paisley: 1896.

Robbie, William

Aberdeen Its Traditions and History. Aberdeen: 1893.

[Robertson, Joseph]

The Book of Bon-Accord. Aberdeen: 1839.

Robertson, Joseph ed.

Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff. Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1843.

[Robertson, Joseph ed]

Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, Vol 4.

Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1862.

Robertson, Joseph ed.

Sum Notabill Thinges Excerptit frome the Auld Recordes of the Honorabill Citie of Aberdeen, 1565-1635.
Edinburgh: 1834.

Rogers, Charles ed.

Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus.
London: Grampian Club, 1879.

RBCA

Rogers, Charles

Social Life in Scotland, from Early to Recent Times.
Edinburgh: 1884.

Ross, Andrew

The Lyons of Cossins and Wester Ogil. Edinburgh: 1901.

Row, John

The History of the Kirk of Scotland, 1558-1637, with
A Continuation to July 1639 by his son, John Row.
(ed. David Laing) Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1842.

Rutherford, Samuel

Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself.
London: 1647.

The Covenant of Life Opened: Or, a Treatise of the
Covenant of Grace. Edinburgh: 1655

Disputatio Scholastica de Divina Providentia.
Edinburgh: 1649.

The Divine Right of Church-Government and Excommuni-
cation. London: 1646.

The Due Right of Presbyteries or, a Peacable Plea,
for the Government of the Church of Scotland.
London: 1644.

Examen Arminianismi. (ed. Matthew Nethenus)
Ultrajecti: 1668.

A Free Disputation Against pretended Liberty of
Conscience. London: 1649.

The Last and Heavenly Speeches, and Glorious Departure
of John Viscount Kenmuir. Edinburgh: 1649.

Lex Rex: The Law and the Prince. A Dispute for the
just Prerogative of King and People. London: 1644.

A Survey of the Spirituall Antichrist. London: 1647.

A Testimony left by Mr Rutherford to the Work of
Reformation in Britain, and Ireland, Before his Death:
with some of his last Words. Edinburgh: 1726.

The Tryal & Triumph of Faith. London: 1645.

St Andrews University Calendar, 1962-63. Edinburgh: 1962.

Salmond, James B. ed.
Veterum Laudes. Edinburgh: 1950.

Salmond, James B. }
 Bushnell, George H. } eds.
Henderson's Benefaction. St. Andrews: University
 Press, 1942.

Shand, Charles F. ed.
Funeral Sermons, Orations, Epitaphs, and Other
 Pieces on the Death of the Right Rev Patrick Forbes.
 Edinburgh: Spottiswood Society, 1845.

Shirrefs, James
An Inquiry into the Life, Writings, and Character of
 the Reverend Doctor William Guild. Aberdeen: 1799.

[Simson, David]
A True and Impartial Account of the Life of...Dr James
 Sharp. [N.p.] 1723.

Simpson, H.F.M. ed.
Bon Record. Aberdeen: 1906.

BR

Simpson, Ian J.
Education in Aberdeenshire before 1872.
 London: University Press, 1947.

Skene, William Forbes ed.
Memorials of the Family of Skene of Skene.
 Aberdeen: New Spalding Club, 1887.

Smellie, Alexander
Men of the Covenant. London: 1904.

A Solemn League and Covenant...of Scotland, England, and
 Ireland. Edinburgh: 1643. [in University Library,
 St. Andrews].

Spalding, John
Memorials of the Trubles in Scotland and in England.
 (ed. John Stuart). Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1850
 and 1851

MT

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn (Dean)
Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland.
 London: 1879.

Stark, James
The Lights of the North. Aberdeen: 1896.

Sinclair, Sir John
The Statistical Account of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1792, 1794.

Stephen, Thomas
The Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp. London: 1839.

Stephen, William ed.
Register of the Consultations of the Ministers of
 Edinburgh and Some Other Brethern of the Ministry.
 Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1921, 1930.

Story, Robert Herbert (Principal) ed.
The Church of Scotland, Past and Present. London:
 1890-92.

Stuart, John ed.
Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of
 Aberdeen Vol 2. Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1848.

ECRA-S

Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of
 Aberdeen. Vols 1 & 2) Edinburgh: Scottish Burgh
 Records Soc. 1871, 1872.

ECRA-B

Miscellany of the Spalding Club, Vol 1.
 Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1849 and 1852.

Selections from the Records of the Kirk Session,
 Presbytery, and Synod of Aberdeen, 1562-1681.
 Aberdeen; Spalding Club, 1846.

Taylor, Alistair and Henrietta eds.
The House of Forbes. Aberdeen: Third Spalding
 Club, 1937.

The Valuation of the County of Aberdeen for the Year
 1667. Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1933.

Taylor, Louise B. ed.
Aberdeen Council Letters, Vols 1 - 6.
 London: Oxford University Press, 1942-1961.

ACL

Taylor, James William
Saint Andrews in the Olden Time. St. Andrews: 1897.

Terry, Charles Sanford
Papers Relating to the Army of the Solemn League and
 Covenant.
 Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1917.

Todd, A.B.
Covenanting Pilgrimages and Studies. Edinburgh: 1911.

Tweedie, W.K. ed.
Select Biographies. Edinburgh: Wodrow Society, 1845.

Votiva Tabella. [Glasgow]; 1911.

[Walker, Alexander ed.]

List of the Deans of Guild of Aberdeen, 1436-1875.
Aberdeen: 1875.

Walker, James

The Theology and Theologians of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1888.

Warrack, Alexander }

Grant, William } eds

A Scots Dialect Dictionary. London: 1911.

Watson, Jean L.

Life of Donald Cargill. Edinburgh: 1880.

Whitson, Thomas B.

The Lord Provosts of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: 1932.

Whyte, Alexander

Samuel Rutherford and Some of His Correspondents.
Edinburgh: 1894.

Who Was Who, 1951-1960 Vol 5. London: 1961.

Wodrow, Robert

Analecta. (ed John Smith)

Edinburgh: Maitland Club, 1842 and 1843.

History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland
from the Restoration to the Revolution. Glasgow: 1836.

Life of James Wodrow. Edinburgh: 1828.

Wood, James

A Little Stone, Pretended to be out of the Mountain,
Tried, and found to be a Counterfeit. Edinburgh: 1654.

Wood, Marguerite }

Armet, Helen } eds.

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh,
1681-89. Edinburgh: 1954.

II UNPUBLISHED WORKS

Acta Dominorum Concilii et Sessionis (vol.14)

Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly (1642-46)

Airlie Muniments

Blebo Writs

Bruggink, Donald Jay

The Theology of Thomas Boston, 1676-1732

Thesis lodged in Edinburgh University Library (1956)

Cargill, David C.
Genealogical Notes

Cargill, Featherston
John Cargill of Haltoun of Rattray (4 vols.)
St. Andrews University Library

FCJC

Commissariat Records

Edicts, Brechin

Edicts of Executry, Dunkeld

Extracted Processes, Dunkeld

Record of Decreets, Glasgow

Register of Testaments, Brechin, Dunkeld and Glasgow

Deeds, Dalrymple, Durie and Mackenzie

Drummond Charter

Edinburgh Hammermen Rolls

Fleming, D. Hay
Notes on Donald Cargill
D. Hay Fleming Library, St. Andrews.

Graduation Roll of the University of St. Andrews.

Lyon Register (vol. 1)

Matriculation Roll of the University of St. Andrews

Parish Registers

Kirk Session: Alyth, Bendochy, Dundee and Rattray*

RPR*

Register of Baptisms, Canongate and Edinburgh.

Register of Marriages, Canongate and Edinburgh

Register of Burials, Canongate

Perthshire Hornings

Private Correspondence

PC

Dr. Featherston Cargill to Author
 Dr. Featherston Cargill to Mr. David C. Cargill
 Dr. Featherston Cargill to Mr. J.P. Cargill
 Mr. George Millar, Headmaster of Rattray Public School,
 to Author
 The Rev. Anderson Nicol, Minister of the West Church of
 St. Nicholas, to Author

Private Correspondence (Contd).

Mr. J.C. Rennie, Town Clerk, Aberdeen, to Author
 Mr. Frank Scorgie, Director of Education, Aberdeen, to Author
 Secretary to the Otago Early Settlers' Association to Author
 Dr. W. Douglas Simpson, Librarian, University of Aberdeen,
 to Author
 Louise B. Taylor (Mrs. Turner) to Author

Register of the Admission of Notaries, Warrants.

Register of Assignment and Modification of Stipends

Register of Ministers and Readers for 1574

Register of the Presbyterie of St Andrewes

Register of Presentations to Benefices

Register of Sasines, General and Particular

GS & PS